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HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF THE
FRENCH LANGUAGE

BRACHET AND TOYNBEE

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

A
HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF THE
FRENCH LANGUAGE

FROM THE FRENCH OF
AUGUSTE BRACHET
LAURÉAT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE

REWRITTEN AND ENLARGED
BY
PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A.
BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD
EDITOR OF 'SPECIMENS OF OLD FRENCH'

'Alii *oc*, alii *oil*, alii *sl*, affirmando loquuntur.'
DANTE, *Vulg. El.* I. 8

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN writing this Historical Grammar, in which the origin and formation of the French language are studied, my object has not been to add one more to the many purely grammatical works compiled for the purpose of facilitating the practical acquirement of the language. The end I had in view was a very different one.

The time has gone by when the study of language was regarded merely as a means of preparation for the study of literature. It is now recognised that speech, being an attribute of the human race, must, like all other natural phenomena, obey fixed laws and pass through regular stages of development. It is admitted, consequently, that linguistic studies may serve as an end in themselves; for instead of pursuing them in a spirit of idle curiosity, we may with their help seek to discover in what manner the law of change, which governs everything in the natural world, is applied in the case of language.

It is an old saying that languages are not born, but transformed; and it is the function of philology to search for the law of these transformations, the instruments at her disposal being *history* and *comparison*. Let me explain my meaning—in those sciences which are based on observation, such as

chemistry or natural history, it is impossible to account for any fact, unless we know what fact preceded it. If, for instance, the formation of a tree is to be explained, we must go back from the full-grown tree to the young plant, and again from the young plant to the seed-germ ; in other words we must make out the *history* of the tree by careful observation of the different conditions and the various forms through which it has successively passed. We cannot properly understand that which is, save by the help of that which has been ; and the only way to discover the causes of any given phenomenon is to examine at the same time the phenomena which have preceded it. It is the same in the case of philology, which is, so to speak, the botany of language ; it is only by the study of their past history that words or grammatical peculiarities can be rightly explained. A single example will make this clear.

It is well known that before certain feminine substantives, such as *messe, mère, soif, faim, &c.*, the adjective *grand* remains in the masculine, e. g. *grand'messe, grand'mère, &c.* What is the reason of this anomaly ? The grammarians, who are never at a loss, inform us without hesitation that *grand* here is put for *grande*, and that the apostrophe, of course, marks the suppression of the final *e*. But against this the good sense of every scholar protests. After having learnt in his childhood that *e* mute is elided before a vowel, and never before a consonant, he finds it without the slightest reason elided in such expressions as *grand'route* and the like ! The real explanation is a widely different one. In its beginnings French grammar was merely the continuation and extension of Latin grammar ; consequently the Old French adjective followed the Latin adjective in every respect ; that is to say, those adjectives which in Latin had one termination for the masculine and another for the feminine (e. g. *bonus—bona*), had

also two terminations in French; and those which had only one for the two genders in Latin (e. g. *grandis*, *fortis*, &c.) had in like manner originally only one in French. Accordingly, in the thirteenth century they spoke of *une grand femme* (*grandis*), *une âme mortel* (*mortalis*), *une coutume cruel* (*crudelis*), *une plaine vert* (*viridis*), &c. In the fourteenth century, however, the meaning of this distinction having been forgotten, it was regarded as a mere irregularity, and the second class of adjectives was made uniform with the first, the feminine forms *grande*, *verte*, *forte*, &c., being created, in defiance of etymology, after the model of *bonne*, &c. Still, traces of the correct forms are preserved in the expressions *grand'mère*, *grand'route*, *grand'faim*, *grand'garde*, &c., which survive as débris of the early language. In the seventeenth century, Vaugelas and the grammarians of the time, ignorant of the historic reason of this usage, gravely decreed that the form of these words was due to the euphonic suppression of the *e* mute, and that this suppression ought to be indicated by the apostrophe.

Here, then, we have a natural explanation supplied by history; and even if historical grammar had achieved no other result than to render ordinary grammars simpler and more logical, it would still be of very considerable value. But instead of employing this enlightened and fruitful method of observation, instead of making a study of the past in order better to understand the present, French grammarians, from Vaugelas downwards, have confined themselves to the study of the language in its actual form, and have attempted to explain *a priori* (by pure reason and logic), facts which can only be explained by the history of the language and the study of its ancient forms. Consequently, for the last three centuries, they have been building up systems, which are at once learned and puerile, instead of applying themselves to the simple observation of facts. They have in fact persisted

in treating philology as Voltaire treated geology, when he declared that the shells found on the mountain-tops had been dropped there by pilgrims on their way home from the crusades. Such a state of things amply justifies the severe judgement passed by M. Bréal on French grammarians in his recent discourse at the Collège de France :—

‘La grammaire traditionnelle formule ses prescriptions comme les décrets d’une volonté aussi impénétrable que décousue ; la philologie comparée fait glisser dans ces ténèbres un rayon de bons sens, et au lieu d’une docilité machinale elle demande à l’élève une obéissance raisonnable ¹.’

I have made clear by an example that the grammatical facts in a language can only be explained by an appeal to history, and that ‘the present state of an idiom is nothing more than the natural consequence of its previous state, which alone can make it intelligible.’ The same observation holds good in the case of words also. Let us take, for instance, the word *âme*, and look for its origin. Before we hazard any theory on the subject, let us see whether the history of the word (that is to say, the study of the various forms it has successively assumed) may not throw some light on the problem and put us on the right track. The accent over the *a* shows that a letter has been suppressed ; in the thirteenth-century texts the word is written not *âme* but *anme* ; in the eleventh century it is *aneme* ; and in the tenth century we find the form *anime*, which leads us without a moment’s hesitation to the Latin *anima*. Thus does *history* furnish the clue to philology ; and there is not a single broken link in the long chain which connects the French with the Latin language.

At first sight the distance between *âme* and *anima*, between the French of Voltaire and the Latin of the Roman peasants,

¹ *Discours d’ouverture du cours de grammaire comparée au Collège de France*, 1864.

seems considerable ; yet it has needed only a series of infinitesimal changes continued through a prolonged period of time in order to effect the transformation of the one into the other. Nature, while prodigal of time, is sparing of effort ; and thus with slow and almost imperceptible modifications she arrives at results widely removed from her starting-point ¹.

With history, regarded as an instrument of philology, must be associated a valuable ally, *comparison*. It is by the aid of comparison that theories are proved and hypotheses verified. Thus, in the example we have just taken, the comparison of the Italian and Spanish *alma* with the French *âme* gives absolute certainty to the hypothetical identification of the latter with *anima*.

Armed with this double method, the historical and the comparative, an illustrious German, Friedrich Diez, wrote (between 1836 and 1842) a comparative grammar ² of the five languages descended from the Latin³ ; in which he expounded the general laws of their formation from the parent-language.

¹ G. Paris.

² [Translated into French, under the title of *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, by A. Brachet, A. Morel-Fatio, and Gaston Paris (1874-6).]

³ The Germans have given to these five languages (viz. Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and Wallachian) the collective name of *Romance* languages. This term, which is clear and convenient, and has been fully accepted by scientific philologists, will be employed throughout this book. [Note—It should be observed that the so-called Romance languages are really *seven* in number, and are divided geographically into three groups—i. the S.E. group, consisting of Italian, Roumansch (spoken in the Grisons in Switzerland), and Wallachian (spoken in the lower basin of the Danube) ; ii. the S.W. group, comprising Spanish and Portuguese ; iii. the Central group, comprising Provençal and French. The student must bear in mind the distinction between the terms *Romance* and *Romanic*, the latter of which is for convenience applied to the popular Latin whence the several Romance languages sprang (see § 29, n. i.).]

Starting from the philological principles laid down by him, Bartsch and Mätzner in Germany, and Littré, Guessard, P. Meyer, and G. Paris in France, have carried on his work with especial reference to the French language, and by a series of detailed investigations have succeeded in throwing fresh light upon the problems of its origin.

* * * * *

I cannot hope within the space of a couple of hundred pages or so to present a complete historical grammar, for which three volumes would hardly suffice. I have, therefore, left untouched all secondary matters and points of detail, and have confined my attention to the exposition of the essential laws and fundamental principles, so as not to overstep the limits I have assigned myself. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that the subject of this book is not the grammar of Old French. Old French—to apply to my little book what Littré said of his *Dictionnaire Historique*—finds a place here only in so far as it illustrates Modern French. Present usage is the outcome of ancient usage, and can only be explained by it. Modern French without Old French is, as it were, a tree without roots; while Old French without the other is like a tree without branches or leaves. To separate the two, as has been done hitherto, is a mistake; their treatment together in this work is its chief claim to originality, and the justification of its title, *Historical Grammar*.

The book is divided into two distinct parts, viz. the *Introduction*, in which I have sketched the history of the French language, and of its formation, and of the elements of which it is made up; and the *Historical Grammar*, which deals successively with the *Letters* (Book I), the *Inflexions* (Book II), and the *Formation of Words* (Book III).

In conclusion, I must express my gratitude to MM. Egger, Littré, and Ernest Renan, Members of the Institut de France,

who have been kind enough to help me with their advice and encouragement ; to M. Émile Lemoine, a former pupil of the École Polytechnique ; and lastly and especially to MM. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, whose friendship and countenance have supported me in my task. If my book has any value it is to these that it is due.

AUGUSTE BRACHET.

GOLFE JUAN,
May 6, 1867.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE present edition of the English version of M. Brachet's well-known *Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* demands a few words of introduction, as it differs from its predecessors in several important respects.

When a new edition was called for, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, feeling that some revision of a work written nearly thirty years ago was desirable, inquired of M. Brachet whether he had any intention of undertaking the task. On being informed by him that he had no inclination to revise his own work, the Delegates then proposed to him that the revision of the English edition should be placed in my hands; to this proposition M. Brachet cordially assented.

It remains for me to explain on what lines the revision has been carried out.

The Author's Preface and the Introduction (the most valuable part of the book) have been left as far as possible intact. Two or three paragraphs in the former have been omitted, as referring to a state of things which no longer exists¹. In the Introduction a sentence here and there has been modified, and a few of the examples have been changed; also, the matter contained in Chapters I–III of the Second Part ('On the Formation of the French Language') has been rewritten and transferred to the Phonetic portion of the work (Book I).

¹ M. Littré's preface (to the second French edition) has also been omitted for similar reasons.

Sundry footnotes have been added, which are distinguished by being enclosed in square brackets.

The most considerable change has been that involved in the treatment of Book I. In this case it was found impossible to retain any appreciable part of M. Brachet's work, which, written as it was when the science of French phonetics was as yet in its infancy, had become altogether out of date. This portion of the work therefore (comprising §§ 1-456) has been written entirely anew, and is original. M. Brachet's plan, an excellent one, of tracing the history of each individual letter first from the Latin to the French, and then back again from the French to the Latin, has been retained and worked out fully, as affording the best possible means of illustrating the working of the various phonetic laws. It is hoped that Book I, which was formerly very incomplete, may now serve as an efficient introduction to French Phonetics, and thus supply a want that has been long felt in England, there being no work in English on the subject.

Books II and III, dealing respectively with the Inflexions, and the Formation of Words, have been also to a very considerable extent rewritten by the light of the most recent works on French historical grammar.

The present edition is provided with a full Index, in two divisions, consisting of a Subject-Index, under which are included proper names; and an Index of French Words, which it is hoped will largely add to the usefulness of the book, especially of the phonetic portion. In the first division of the Index a few dates have been inserted, in order to help the student more readily to fix the chronology of the various periods under discussion.

For greater convenience of reference the whole work, with the exception of the Introduction, has been divided into paragraphs (§§), which are numbered consecutively.

Among the works from which I have derived assistance, I must mention especially the *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* (2nd ed.) of Dr. Eduard Schwan, the *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch* of G. Körting, and the excellent little *Précis de Phonétique Française* of M. E. Bourciez, of parts of which I have made liberal use in the Book on Phonetics ; as well as the invaluable *Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* of the late M. Arsène Darmesteter, and the *Précis de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française* of M. F. Brunot. I have not hesitated to refer the reader, as occasion offered, to my own *Specimens of Old French*, in which are represented most of the early monuments of the Langue d'Oïl mentioned in the course of the work.

I must, further, express my obligations to the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, of Wadham College, Oxford, to whom I am indebted for much friendly counsel and assistance.

My acknowledgements would be incomplete without a reference to Dr. Kitchin, the present Dean of Durham, whose name has been for so long associated with that of M. Brachet, as the author of the English translations of the latter's two best-known works. The altered conditions under which this book now appears render inappropriate the retention of his name upon the title-page ; I take the opportunity, therefore, of recalling here the debt of gratitude due to him, by more than one generation of students, for the valuable services he has rendered to the cause of French philology in this country.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

DORNEY WOOD, BUCKS,
October, 1895.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 14, l. 16, *for* 750 *read* 809.

P. 21, n. 3, *for* hoc-illud *read* hoc-ille (see § 650 ii).

P. 30, l. 23, *for* Catherine de' Medici *read* Catherine de Médicis.

P. 31, l. 6, *for* Catharine de' Medici *read* Catherine de Médicis.

P. 90, § 177, *for* hoc-illu *read* hoc-ille.

P. 141, § 319, *for* § 184 *read* § 185.

P. 247, § 642 ii. Add: [*Note*.—The exact etymology of *chez* is doubtful. It may come from **casu* for *casa*, or from abl. *casis*. The word *chese*, *chiese* from *casa* existed in O. F. in the compound *chiese-dieu*, 'religious house.' The latter survives in the proper name *Chaise-Dieu*.]

P. 264, § 658 ix, *for* 'Roman du Renard' *read* 'Roman de Renard.'

* * I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the vigilance of the Press-reader, but for whom the above list of *errata* would have been a long one.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Burg. *Burgundian*.

Cent. *Century*.

d. *died*.

Emp. *Emperor*.

Eng. *English*.

Germ. *German*.

Ital. *Italian*.

K. *King*.

n. *note*.

Norm. *Norman*.

O. E. *Old English*.

O. F. *Old French*.

Pic. *Picard*.

Port. *Portuguese*.

Prov. *Provençal*.

Span. *Spanish*.

Note.—In the body of the work certain Latin words are distinguished by an asterisk to indicate that they are late and non-classical (e. g. **abbreviare*), or (as in a few instances) hypothetical forms (e. g. **habutu*).

INTRODUCTION

I.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

CAESAR tells us that he found in Gaul three races, differing in speech, manners, and laws: the Belgae in the north, the Aquitani between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, and in the centre the Gallic or Celtic race. The Belgae and the Celts were in reality of the same stock, while the Aquitani were partly Iberians (that is, dwellers on the banks of the Ebro), whose language has perhaps survived in the Basque or *Euskarian* tongue.

Thus then almost all the soil of France was occupied by Celts, who were so named from one of their most important confederations; they were men tall and fair, eager for excitement and noise, men whose one ambition was to fight well and to speak well. 'The Gauls,' says Cato the Elder, 'give themselves passionately to two things, debate of arms and debate of speech.' Their civilization, which was fairly advanced in point of industry and agriculture, and was an example of an original and interesting political organization, might have developed into a condition of things yet more important, had it not been cut short and rendered powerless by the Roman conquest¹. For how many ages did they inhabit Gaul?

¹ It may be stated in passing that the stone monuments called *Celtic* in France (dol-men, men-hir, &c.) clearly do not come from the Celts; nor had these so-styled *Druidic* stones the slightest relation to the Druids. Worsaae in Denmark and Prosper Mérimée in France have proved that

What was it that drove them to the shores of the ocean? We cannot tell¹; for the Gauls could not write, and their authentic history begins from the moment when Gaul laid down her independence at the feet of those Roman conquerors, to whom we are indebted for the scattered knowledge we possess as to the life, social condition, manners, religion of the conquered race. It may in fact be said that the history of Gaul begins with the very day on which she ceased to have an independent existence.

Some six hundred years before the Christian era Marseilles was founded not far from the mouths of the Rhone by Greek refugees from Phocaea. This city, thanks to her relations with Rome, was destined to be the beginning of woes to the people of Gaul. She called in the Romans to defend her against the Ligurians in B.C. 153. The Romans seized the Rhone valley; and thence, in Caesar's time, passed on to conquer the rest of the land. The Gauls resisted bravely, burning their villages, destroying their crops and provisions, and rendering their country a desert, in hopes thereby to starve out the enemy. It was only by force of terror that Caesar could subdue them. He massacred ten thousand women and children at Bourges; slew the heads of a tribe

these monuments belong to a more ancient period of human life, and that no Indo-Germanic peoples have ever built in that manner. These monuments are also to be met with throughout the north of Africa, and in the extreme north of Europe as well as in its western districts.

¹ On the other hand, philology has been able to prove with certainty whence they came and to what race they belonged. By a comparison of the Celtic, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Gothic, and Sanskrit languages, the learned have shown that these tongues are six branches of one trunk, the *Aryan*, a language which has now disappeared, but was spoken thousands of years ago on the banks of the Oxus; and as the relation of languages proves the relation of races, so it is certain that between the fortieth and the twentieth century before our era, the Aryans quitted Bactria and the plains of Central Asia and came towards Europe, and by the separation of their principal tribes, formed the Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Greek, and Latin peoples. Thus the fact that their speech is one of the Indo-European languages has revealed to us what is the true origin of the Gauls.

at Vannes, and sold the rest by auction; and cut off the hands of all his prisoners at Uxellodunum. After eight years of this atrocious and horrible warfare Gaul was subdued, and Rome began to administer her conquest.

The chief secret of Roman foreign politics lay in the perfection of her iron system of colonization. She had two engines by which to hold down a conquered province,—first, she set military colonies round the frontier, so as to isolate the conquest from all external influences; and, secondly, within that circle of iron she established an energetic ‘administration,’ which soon broke up all local resistance. The language and religion of the conqueror were forced on the vanquished; all resistance was crushed by extermination or deportation¹, and the void was then filled up with colonists and freedmen from Rome.

By this method conquerors and conquered were in a few years completely welded into one mass. Within a century after the conquest, Latin was spoken throughout Gaul. But this Latin, brought in by colonists and soldiers, was very unlike the Latin of Virgil; it was distinguished from the classical or written Latin by peculiarities of vocabulary and of inflexion which demand a brief notice.

It is a first law of history that every language (just like the nation that uses it) is one at first, and presently splits into two parts—the speech of the noble and the speech of the people. After a certain time the different habits of each class completely break up the original unity of the language; and thus every language has its epoch of division, which comes when the nation opens its eyes to art and poetry—in a word, to culture and literature. From that time the nation may be divided into two great classes, the lettered and the unlettered, the *patrician* and the *plebeian*.

The Latin language underwent this process of division at the

¹ Caesar boasts that he is coining money by the sale of a million of Gauls as slaves.

time of the second Punic war—a division which became more marked as time went on. Greek art and Greek manners, introduced into Roman society by the Scipios, and the reduction of Greece to the position of a Roman province, brought the Greek language into fashion. From this time the gulf between the popular and the classical Latin widened suddenly, and the upper classes at Rome foisted into the literary language a crowd of purely Greek words utterly unknown to the popular idiom¹. These words of the cultivated class, servilely copied from the Greek, remained as strange to the common people as the aristocratic French-English terms *turf*, *sport*, *steeple-chase*, &c., or the technical terms of science, *diluvium*, *stratification*, *ornithologie*, &c., are to the French peasantry at the present day. These borrowed words widened the breach between the literary and the popular Latin, a difference which ever increased, until the ‘sermo nobilis,’ the literary, aristocratic, ‘classical’ Latin, became in Caesar’s day entirely distinct from the ‘sermo plebeius,’ or ‘rusticus,’ the ‘castrense verbum,’ as authors disdainfully styled it, the Latin of the people and the camp.

Each had its own grammatical forms and vocabulary. For example, ‘to strike’ is *verberare* in literary Latin; in popular Latin the term was *batuere*. Again, the French words *cheval*, *semaine*, *aider*, *doubler*, *bataille*, &c., were, in the classical Latin, *equus*, *hebdomas*, *juvare*, *duplicare*, *pugna*; in the popular, *cabállus*, *septimána*, *adjutáre*, *dupláre*, *batália*.

The popular Latin was unwritten, and we might have remained in ignorance of its existence had not the Roman grammarians revealed it to us by exhorting their students to avoid as low and trivial certain expressions which, they tell us, were in common vulgar use. Thus Cassiodorus tells us that the feigned combats of gladiators and exercise-drill of the army were called *batália*:—‘*Quae vulgo batalia dicuntur, exercitationes gladiatorum vel militum significant.*’ *Pugna*

¹ Such as ἀμφιθέατρον, ἵππύδρομος, ἐφίππιον, φιλοσοφία, γεωγραφία, &c.

was the literary term, *batalia* the popular; *pugna* has disappeared, *batalia* has survived in *bataille*. The pedants of that day could not foresee that the literary idiom, which they admired so much, would one day disappear; and that the despised popular Latin would reign instead, parent of Italian, French, and Spanish, and strong enough to bear the weight of the literatures of three great nations.

Imported into Gaul by soldiers and colonists, the popular Latin soon made itself at home, and, even in the first century of the Christian era, had supplanted the Celtic speech, except in Armorica and a few isolated spots. A hundred years after the conquest, women and children used to sing Latin songs; and so universal became the use of the language, that in Strabo's time the Gaul was no longer regarded as a Barbarian¹. The lengthy sojourn of the Legions, the incessant influx of colonists, the necessity of pleading in Latin before the Roman tribunals, the conversion of the people to Christianity, and lastly, the natural vivacity and love of change² which distinguish the Celt, all contributed to the adoption by the Gallic people of the language of their conquerors.

At the same time that the Gallic people thus accepted the common Latin, the upper classes in Gaul, fired by ambition, adopted the literary language, and practised Roman rhetoric, in the hope of rising to political distinction. From the days of Augustus, Gaul became a nursery for rhetoricians and grammarians; the schools of Autun, Bordeaux, and Lyons were renowned throughout the Empire. Pliny records with pride that his works were read and appreciated in Gaul³.

¹ That is, the test of language (implied in the word Barbarian) placed the Gaul on the same footing as the average Roman colonist.

² 'Galli sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles, et novis plerumque rebus student' (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, iv. 5).

³ 'Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam : ac tanto libentius ex literis tuis cognovi venditari libellos meos, quibus peregre manere gratiam, quam in urbe collegerint, delector.' (*Epist.* ix. 11.)

Caesar admitted Gauls into the Senate; Claudius made them eligible for all public offices, on the sole condition that they knew Latin. It is easy to understand why the Gallic noble so quickly forgot his mother-tongue.

That tongue disappeared from Gaul, leaving but a few faint traces in Latin to prove that it had once existed. Thus the Romans remarked that the bird they called *galerita* was called *alauda* in Gaul; that beer, in Graeco-Latin *zythum*, was *cervisia* in Gallic: they introduced the words into their own tongue, and these new Latin words, passing six centuries later into French, produced the words *alouette*¹ and *cervoise*. These and a few other isolated words, together with certain names of places, are all that the French language owes to the Gallic; and indeed, if we speak more exactly, the French has borrowed nothing from it, since these words passed through an intermediate Latin stage, and therefore did not come directly from the Gallic. And even these cases are so very rare, that it may almost be affirmed that the influence of the Celtic tongue on the French has been inappreciable.

Thus, while the French nation is really Celtic in race, its language has kept only a trifling number of words of Gallic origin—a very remarkable fact, which shows, better than any history could show, what a strong absorbent was the Roman power.

The Celtic language had scarcely accepted its defeat²,

¹ *Alauda* did not pass directly into *alouette*, but into the O.F. *aloue*, of which *alouette* is the diminutive.

² The Celtic language, thrust by the Romans back into Armorica, survived in that isolated district for centuries, and was revived by an immigration of Kymri from Wales in the seventh century. The Bretons also resisted the Frank as successfully as they had withstood the Roman; and what is now called the Low Breton patois is nothing but the direct descendant of the Celtic language. It has a considerable literature of tales, songs, and plays, which however date back only as far as the fourteenth century. But the language, living thus for a thousand years 'in extremis,' naturally deviated far from the primitive Celtic tongue; for, beside the natural corruption and degradation of eighteen centuries, it has been forced as a patois to admit

when the Latin, from this time forth the true mistress of Gaul, had to undergo a fresh struggle, and repel a new assailant. The invasion of the German tribes set in. As far back as the second century after Christ, the barbarians, beginning slowly to filter through into Gaul, silently undermined the dykes of the Roman Empire, and prepared for the final bursting of the barriers, and the terrible inundation of the fifth century.

To protect northern Gaul against these German invasions the Romans garrisoned its frontiers with a chain of legions or military colonies ; and when these veterans were no longer able to defend the sanctity of the Roman territory, the Emperors adopted an expedient which kept the great invasion at bay for a whole century, and for a few years at least gave peace to the Empire. They allowed the barbarians

into its ranks a crowd of foreign, that is, of French, terms ; and consequently the Breton tongue has in many cases two distinct forms or words to express the same idea, the one ancient and of Celtic origin, the other more modern, borrowed from the French, and dressed up with a Celtic termination. Thus in Breton we have for

just	<i>egwirion</i>	or <i>just</i> ,
secretly	<i>ekus</i>	or <i>secretament</i> ,
troubled	<i>enkreset</i>	or <i>troublet</i> ,
anger	<i>buanéges</i>	or <i>coler</i> , and so on.

Here the middle column is composed of old Celtic words ; the third of corrupted French words. It would not have been necessary to insist on so elementary a truth, had not adventurous spirits in the eighteenth century, struck with their resemblance to French words, jumped to the conclusion that these importations from the French were really the origin of the French language. Le Brigant and the illustrious La Tour d'Auvergne, whose extravagance as a philosopher was only equalled by his excellence as a patriot, maintained this opinion. Great would have been their amazement had they learnt that the contrary was the case, and that *just*, *secretament*, *troublet*, &c., instead of being the parents of the French language and the primitive Celtic words, are only corrupted French words, furnished with Celtic endings. Voltaire called this etymological folly Celtomania. Its followers amused the world by extravagant assertions—that Celtic was the original speech of Paradise ; that Adam, Eve, the serpent, all spoke Low Breton. These errors have had a still worse result ; for they have cast unmerited discredit on all Celtic studies.

to settle in northern Gaul, and by thus attaching them to the Empire, made them a new and durable barrier against all further invasions. These were the Leti, colonies of barbarians who recognized the nominal sovereignty of the Emperors, and enjoyed lands granted them under a kind of military tenure. At the same time the Emperors hired Franks, Burgundians, and Alans, to fill up the blanks in their legions.

The consequence was an ever-increasing introduction of German words into the common Latin; these terms, as was natural, being chiefly connected with warfare. Vegetius, in his work *De re militari*, tells us that the Roman soldiers gave the name of **burgus** to a fortified post¹. This is the German *Burg*. Thus, nearly a century before Clovis, German terms had already made their way into the Latin language; a century later, when the Western Empire was on the eve of disappearing, the effects of this influence were far more considerable.

But before we describe the effect of this grand historical event on the language, we must first survey the chief features of the Latin which was current during the last ages of the Empire. A century after the Roman conquest Gaul was flourishing and prosperous. The two forms of the Latin language pursued a tranquil and parallel course—the common dialect among the lower classes in town and country, the literary tongue among the aristocracy and middle classes. In the second century after Christ, when Roman Gaul was in the height of its prosperity, the popular dialect was in the shade, while literary Latin shone with great brilliancy; the Gallic schools produced lawyers and rhetoricians; and, as Juvenal says, ‘*Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos*’².

But in the fifth century, just before the German invasion, the scene is very different—the two dialects have changed places in the three centuries that have elapsed; literary Latin is dying; the popular dialect spreads widely, and this

¹ ‘*Castellum parvulum, quem burgum vocant*’ (iv. 10). ² *Sat.* xv. 111.

even before the invasion of 407 had given to Gaul her death-blow. The institution of the 'Curials,' which caused the downfall of the burghers in the cities, was fatal to literature and the literary dialect. The Curials, being at once both city-magistrates and tax-gatherers, became absolutely responsible for the proper payment of the town's quota into the imperial treasury; if there was a deficit or any falling off, their private property was seized and sold, to make up the difference; and thus reduced to hopeless poverty, the poor Curials took refuge in the woods, or went and sold themselves as slaves. With the destruction of the better classes, schools were everywhere shut up, literary culture came to an immediate stop, and ignorance speedily recovered all the ground she had lost. From this time the use of literary Latin, a language which lived only in books and by tradition, was confined to the Gallo-Roman nobles, a handful of men who transmitted to their children a petrified unchanging idiom, which had no life, and was destined to perish with them, when their time came. And here again popular Latin gained by the losses of the literary tongue.

Though mined by its fiscal extravagances, the Empire yet survived some years, owing to the power of its administration, and the strength which is inherent in every regular organization. At last, however, its final hour arrived; the Franks, Burgundians, Alans, Visigoths, fell on it, and overthrew with ease the great image whose feet were of clay. The monument which Caesar had erected fell less than five centuries after his death. In the crash, administration, law, aristocracy, letters, all perished, and with them the literary Latin¹ which they had employed. It had been born with

¹ M. Meyer says well that 'the invasion of the Barbarians irrevocably fixed the gulf between these two idioms, between the common Latin, the mistress of Gaul, ready to be the mother of the French language, and the literary Latin, a dead language, used only by the learned, and destined to have no influence in the formation of modern languages. This Latin was kept up by Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, the literary renaissance under

them, and was destined to follow all the vicissitudes of their history. Then the popular Latin grew strong on its ruins, and entirely supplanted it. If proof of this were needed, we should find it in the fact that wherever the literary and the popular Latin used two different words for the same thing, the French language has invariably adopted the popular form and thrown aside the learned one: an absolute proof that the literary tongue was confined to the upper classes, was born and perished with them, and throughout was a dead letter to the common folk. Illustrations are innumerable; thus—

LITERARY LATIN.	POPULAR LATIN.	FRENCH.
Hebdomas	septimána	<i>semaine</i> (O. F. <i>sepmaine</i>)
Equus	cabállus	<i>cheval</i>
Verberare	bátuere	<i>battre</i>
Pugna	batália	<i>bataille</i>
Osculari	basiáre	<i>baiser</i>
Iter	viáticum	<i>voyage</i>

Charlemagne, and by the schoolmen of the Middle Ages. It was thus perpetuated in learned use, and in the sixteenth century experienced, after the great renaissance, a kind of artificial resurrection. Even in our own day it is the official language of the Roman Catholic Church, and, until quite lately, was the language of the learned, especially in Germany.'

After the invasion under the Merovingian kings, the public personages, notaries or clergy, too ignorant to write literary Latin correctly, too proud to use the common Latin in their documents, and eager to imitate the fine style of Roman officials, wrote 'a sort of jargon, which is neither literary Latin nor popular Latin, but a strange mixture of both, with the popular Latin more or less preponderant, according to the ignorance of the writer.' This jargon is what is called *Low Latin*. It continued to be the language of the French administration down to 1539, when Francis I ordered French to be used in all public acts. This distinction between *Low Latin*, a gross and barren imitation of the Roman literary tongue, and *Popular Latin*, the living language of the people, and parent of the French tongue, must not be forgotten. It should be added that there is, besides, a second kind of Low Latin, that of the Middle Ages, which reproduced French words in a servile way: for example, *missaticum* produced the French *message* which was Latinised again under the barbarous form *messagium*.

LITERARY LATIN.	POPULAR LATIN.	FRENCH.
Verti	tornáre	<i>tourner</i>
Urbs	vílla	<i>ville</i>
Os	búcca	<i>bouche</i>
Felis	cátus	<i>chat</i>
Duplicare	dupláre	<i>doubler</i>
Sinere	laxáre	<i>laisser</i>
Tentamen	exágium	<i>essai</i>
Gulosus	glutónem	<i>glouton</i>
Jus	directus (dríctus)	<i>droit</i>
Minæ	mináciae	<i>menace</i>
Edere	manducáre	<i>manger</i>
Ignis	fócus	<i>feu</i>
Ludus	jócus	<i>jeu</i>
Aula	cúrtem	<i>cour</i>
&c.	&c.	&c.

These examples show how incorrect it is to say that French is classical Latin corrupted by an intermixture of popular forms; it is, on the contrary, the popular Latin alone. In the same way, in Italy and Spain the invasion of the barbarians destroyed the literary Latin. The Italian, the Spanish, the Portuguese languages, are, like the French, simply the products of the slow development of the common Roman speech¹. Hence the striking likeness often noticed between these four idioms, the four neo-Latin or Romance languages, these sister-tongues—

‘Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.’

When the Germans destroyed in Gaul the imperial administration, and stamped out all its culture, they also killed the literary language. But the common Latin was the gainer; and eventually it succeeded in absorbing even its conquerors,

¹ Goethe, with his customary penetration, remarked as long ago as 1775 that French was derived from popular Latin.

compelling them to forget their own language, and to adopt that of their subjects ; thereby proving once more the energy of the Roman character and its great assimilative power.

There were, besides, many causes which led to this result : first, the numerical paucity of the Franks, a few bands of men, scarcely more than twelve thousand in all, in the midst of six millions of Gallo-Romans ; next, if the Franks had not accepted the Latin, what could they have taken for their common tongue ? Each German tribe had its own dialect, Frankish, Burgundian, Gothic, &c., and there was no common German language. Lastly, the conversion of the Franks to Christianity, which, as it were, bound them over to learn Latin, may be reckoned as the special cause which made the adoption of Latin a necessity.

The Neustrian Franks were all eager to study the Gallo-Roman speech ; and, less than a century after the invasion, Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, congratulated Caribert on his success in the use of Latin :

‘Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela
Qui nos Romano vincis in eloquio ?’

At Strassburg, in the year 842, Ludwig the German takes an oath in French in the presence of the army of Charles the Bald ; a clear proof that the Caroling soldiers no longer understood German. In the next century, when Rollo, duke of Normandy, swore fealty to Charles the Simple (911), he had scarcely begun the formula with the words ‘Bi Got’ (In God’s name) when all the company of lords burst out laughing ; so utterly was German forgotten, that it actually sounded ridiculous and barbarous in their ears.

It is needless to multiply proofs of the rapidity with which the German settlers in France lost their mother-tongue. It must, on the other hand, be remembered that though the German language failed to supplant the Latin, still it inflicted a severe wound on it, by compelling it to adopt a great number of German words employed to designate those

new institutions which the Franks brought in with them. And in fact this intrusion of Germanic terms was inevitable. How could the Latin represent such ideas as those involved in the words *vassal*, *alleu*, *fief*, &c.? When the feudal institutions of the Germanic tribes replaced the monarchical, unified, and centralised organization of the Roman Empire, the barbarian conquerors were bound to introduce at the same time the terms required to express this new revolution: consequently, all words relating to political or judicial functions, and all titles in the feudal hierarchy, are of German origin. The German words *mahal*, *bann*, *alód*, *skepeno*, *marahscalh*, *siniscalh*, &c., thus introduced into the Low Latin, became *mallum*, *bannum*, *alodium*, *scabinus*, *mari-scallus*, *siniscallus*, &c., whence, several centuries later, they passed into the French language as *mall*, *bann*, *alleu*, *échevin*, *maréchal*, *sénéchal*, &c.

Still more is this the case with war terms. The Franks long reserved for themselves, as a privileged class, the warlike profession, and the Gallo-Romans adopted into their Latin speech those terms of warfare which they daily heard their masters using: as *halsberc*, French *haubert*; *helm*, French *heaume*; *heriberga*, French *auberge*; *werra*, French *guerre*, &c. There are upwards of nine hundred such words which thus passed from the German into Latin, and thence into French. And yet this invasion was little more than an accidental and superficial perturbation of the growth of the language, for it touched the vocabulary only; there are no traces of German influence on French syntax.

Still, popular Latin was greatly affected by this sudden inroad of barbarous words; its vocabulary became less and less like that of the literary language; while its syntax still further widened the breach. Those analytical tendencies which have grown so strong in modern languages, and which are indicated by the use of the prepositions *de* and *ad* instead of inflected cases to mark *possession* and *aim*, soon showed themselves in popular Latin. Where the literary dialect said

'Do panem *Petro*,' or 'equus *Petri*,' popular Latin said 'Do panem *ad Petrum*,' 'caballus *de Petro*'; and in like manner auxiliaries were introduced in the conjugation of verbs. Thus modified in syntax, and augmented in vocabulary, popular Latin became a new language completely distinct from literary Latin; and men of culture in Merovingian times disdainfully called it the '*lingua romana rustica*,' the Peasant-Latin.

Its position as a new and independent language is attested early and often. Church writers give us the first proofs of it, as we should expect; for the Church, through her missionaries and her priests, first addressed the people; and in order to be understood, she must use their language. Thus, as early as 660, St. Mummolinus is elected Bishop of Noyon, because he can speak both German and Romance¹. We read in the life of St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corbie in 750, that he preached in the popular tongue 'with a sweet fluency'; and his biographer gives us still more clearly the distinction between the two languages by going on to say that, 'When St. Adalhard spoke the *common*, that is, the *Romance* tongue, you would have thought he knew no other: if he spoke German, he was still more brilliant; but if he used the *Latin*, he spoke it quite as well as either of the others².'

Thus in the lifetime of Charlemagne (as we see from this passage), the people understood no Latin, and the Church had taken to preaching and teaching in French. There has come to light by a fortunate chance a fragment of a glossary, called the *Reichenau Glosses*³, which, though it does not give us a specimen of a translation of the Bible, at any rate has

¹ 'Quia praevalebat non tantum in Teutonica, sed etiam in *Romana lingua*.'

² 'Qui si vulgari, id est, *Romana lingua*, loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur inscius; si vero Teutonica, enitebat perfectius; si *Latina*, in nulla omnino absolutius.'—*Acta Sanctorum*, i. 416.

³ Because it was discovered (in 1863 by M. Holtzmann) in a MS. in the Library at Reichenau.

preserved an explanation of some of the more difficult words ; it was written about 768 (the year of the accession of Charlemagne), and is of the highest value to the philologist. The words are written in two columns ; on the left the Latin (Vulgate), on the right the French : thus—

LATIN.	FRENCH (Cent. VIII.)	MODERN FRENCH.
Minas	<i>Manatces</i>	<i>Menaces</i>
Galea	<i>Helmo</i>	<i>Heaume</i>
Tugurium	<i>Cabanna</i>	<i>Cabane</i>
Singulariter	<i>Solamente</i>	<i>Seulement</i>
Caementarii	<i>Macioni</i>	<i>Maçons</i>
Sindones	<i>Linciolo</i>	<i>Linceul</i>
Sagma	<i>Soma</i>	<i>Somme</i>
	&c.	&c.

This linguistic fragment, rough as it may appear, is of the highest interest ; for it is the first written monument of the French language, eleven hundred years old. The translation into modern French, in the right-hand column, shows at a glance the distance between this still unformed tongue and the French of the present day.

This fragment also proves, in the most incontestable way, a fact which we already knew from indirect testimony, that the common people of France spoke French in the days of Charlemagne ; in fact, the Emperor himself found it necessary to try to speak the language of his subjects.

And while Eginhard, Alcuin, Angilbert, and all the cultivated class of that day affected to despise this ill-formed *patois*, which was destined eventually to become the French language, the Church, not afraid of being the first to use this vulgar speech, quickly recognized its great importance, and instead of resisting it and clinging to literary Latin, set herself to make a skilful use of the new movement. Hitherto she had but tolerated, or perhaps patronized, the study of

this vulgar tongue by priests and missionaries ; now, towards the end of the reign of Charlemagne, she did more, she ordered the clergy to study it—a measure which had become necessary, seeing that the people no longer understood Latin. In 813 the Council of Tours bade all priests to expound the Holy Scriptures in French, and the preachers to use henceforward this French tongue in their pulpits¹.

Thus the Church recognized the existence of this new language, and confessed that Latin was dead and gone from among the people ; and having once accepted this new order of things, she followed up the natural consequences with her habitual perseverance. After the Council of Tours, the Councils of Rheims (813), of Strassburg (842), and of Arles (851), in succession enforced anew the order to preachers to preach in French, until the vulgar tongue was everywhere substituted for the Latin. Under the all-powerful patronage of the Church, it gained ground rapidly ; so that eight-and-twenty years after the death of Charlemagne, we find it used as the language of political negotiation in the famous Strassburg Oaths which Ludwig the German took to his brother Charles the Bald, and Charles' army took to Ludwig the German, Feb. 14, 842. Nithard, the grandson of Charlemagne, has preserved these Oaths in his *History*², written between 841 and 843, at the instigation of Charles the Bald, his cousin and intimate friend.

I. OATH TAKEN BY LUDWIG THE GERMAN.

Old French.

Pro Deo amur, et pro
christian poblo et nostro
commun salvament, d'ist di
in avant, in quant Deus savir
et podir me dunat, si salvarai

Modern French.

Pour l'amour de Dieu et
pour le salut du peuple chré-
tien et notre commun salut,
de ce jour en avant, autant
que Dieu me donne savoir et

¹ Charlemagne, who maintained constant relations with the Church, was certainly cognisant of these prescriptions, if indeed he did not inspire them.

[² *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii* (Lib. iii. cap. 5).]

eo cist meon fradre Karlo et
in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa,
si cum om per dreit son
fradra salvar dift, in o quid
il mi altresi fazet, et ab
Ludher nul plaid nunquam
prindrai, qui meon vol cist
meon fradre Karle in damno
sit.

pouvoir, je sauverai mon frère
Charles et en aide et en
chaque chose (ainsi qu'on
doit, selon la justice, sauver
son frère), à condition qu'il
en fasse autant pour moi ; et
je ne ferai avec Lothaire
aucun accord qui, par ma vo-
lonté, porte préjudice à mon
frère Charles ici présent.

II. OATH OF THE SOLDIERS OF CHARLES THE BALD.

Old French.

Si Lodhuwigs sacrament,
que son fradre Karlo jurat,
conservat, et Karlus meos
sendra de sue part non los
tanit¹, si io returnar non l'int
pois, ne io ne neuls, cui eo
returnar int pois, in nulla a-
iudha contra Lodhuwig nun
li iv er.

Modern French.

Si Louis garde le serment
qu'il a juré à son frère Charles,
et que Charles mon maître,
de son côté, ne le tienne pas,
si je ne l'en puis détourner,
ni moi, ni nul que j'en puis
détourner, ne lui serai en aide
contre Louis.

Next after the Reichenau Glosses, these oaths are the oldest monuments of the French language. Their value is incalculable for students of the origin of the French tongue, for we here catch, as it were, the Latin language in the act of transformation into French. The importance of this will appear in the course of this book ; it is sufficient to remark here that the Frankish army clearly had lost all knowledge of Latin or German, otherwise Ludwig, the Emperor, would never have taken oath to them in French.

From this time the vulgar tongue took, once and for all,

[¹ The MS. reading is *de suo partiū lostanit*, which is probably corrupt. G. Paris proposes : *de sua part lo suon fraint*, 'on his side breaks his (oath).' See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, p. 2, note 9.]

the place of the Latin, which the people no longer understood. In common use during the two preceding centuries, officially acknowledged by the Church in 813 and by the State in 842, it continued to increase in importance, and before long became the language of poetry. In the ninth century appears a hymn in French verse on the martyrdom of St. Eulalia¹; in the tenth century we find two short poems, the one on the Passion, the other on the life of St. Leger of Autun². These are the first poetic attempts of the language—attempts of the highest value for the history of the language, as well as for the history of French poetry, which here finds the first stammering utterances of its infancy.

These two centuries, the ninth and tenth, in which the later Caroling kings came to a wretched end, seem at first sight barren and desolate; yet they are in reality a most fertile epoch in the opening of French national life, for at this time the true nationality of France began, and with it dawned a national language, poetry, and Christian art. All these things spring from the people, not from the princes. The pretentious chroniclers of the time describe the last moments of the decrepit Caroling dynasty; they pass over without a notice the fresh life and creative energy which were beginning in the tenth century to reanimate what seemed to be the worn-out powers of society³.

From the tenth century begins the real life of the French nation, evidenced and confirmed by the growth of a language of its own—for a people cannot be said to have a really

[¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. ii.).]

[² See *Specimens of O. F.* (Spec. iii.).]

³ This birth of the French language in an historical age well known to us is of the highest importance: we learn from it how such languages as Latin and Greek (which we know only in their full age) came first into being. And when our histories relate in full the obscure quarrels and struggles of obscure princes and give us no details respecting such a great event as this, we see clearly that true history has not yet found its way into the school-room. (See M. Littré, *Histoire de la Langue Française*, i. 260, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 15, 1867.)

independent existence till it has a language to itself; the effects of the Roman domination were then long past, and the invasions of the barbarians were over¹. On the ruins of the Caroling empire—that splendid and vain attempt—feudalism, a new form of social life, half-way between ancient slavery and modern freedom, was to flourish for six centuries.

As the use of the French speech increased, the knowledge of Latin, up to this time generally employed by the upper classes, steadily diminished. Hugh Capet knew no language but French; when he had an interview with the Emperor Otto II, who spoke to him in Latin, he was obliged to get one of the bishops to act as interpreter. Even in the monasteries, where it had been most in use, Latin ceased to be generally employed after the eleventh century; and many priests knew nothing but French.

Thus at last Latin was abandoned even by the upper classes, as it had been by the people three centuries before. The French language had now, as it were, cast away its leading-strings.

Forthwith there sprang up, between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, a thoroughly original poetical literature; graceful or brilliant lyrics, and lofty epics (of which the *Chanson de Roland*² is the most perfect example), were produced, and became exceedingly popular in other countries as well as at home. In Germany, Italy, and Spain, the French poems and romances were translated or imitated. This enthusiasm of foreigners in the twelfth century, which answers to the admiration of Europe for the French literature of the age of Louis XIV, is the highest proof of its

¹ The last invasion ended with the submission of the Northmen and their establishment in Neustria. Their numbers were small; and they soon forgot their own Scandinavian tongue, and adopted that of the conquered race. A century after Rollo's death Normandy was celebrated for the elegance of her French, just as Roman Gaul had been for the excellence of her rhetoricians and grammarians.

[² See *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. v.).]

artistic value and originality. The influence of French literature on foreign thought and style would form an admirable subject for an essay in literary history. The medieval glories of the twelfth, the modern brilliancy of the seventeenth century, would be seen to be the two great epochs of the national genius.

And not only French literature, but the French language also, from the thirteenth century onwards, became well known to and accepted by neighbouring nations, as it did later in the days of Voltaire. The Norman conquest imposed the French tongue on England; in Germany Frederick II and his court were familiar with French poetry; in Italy French was generally known and used: the Venetian Marco Polo¹ wrote his travels in it; the Florentine Brunetto Latino², Dante's contemporary, composed his *Trésor de Sapience* in it, 'because the French is the most delectable and most common tongue'³. From every quarter of Europe students flocked to the University of Paris, a fact to which the two medieval Latin lines testify:

'Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores,
Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores.'

This was so commonly done, that the scholarly Benvenuto da Imola⁴ complained, towards the close of the fourteenth century, that 'he was astonished and indignant to see the Italian nobles all striving to copy French manners, despising their own tongue and learning French, and admiring nothing but French books.'

[¹ See *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. lvii.).]

[² See *Specimens of O. F.* (Spec. lvi.).]

[³ 'Porce que la parletüre des François est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens' (i. 1).]

[⁴ The Dante commentator. The passage occurs in his comment on *Inferno* xxix. 123: 'Multum miror, et indignor animo, quando video italicos et praecipue nobiles, qui conantur imitari vestigia gallorum, et discunt linguam gallicam, asserentes quod nulla est pulcrior lingua gallica.' (Tom. ii. p. 409, ed. Vernon).]

What, then, was this French language which Europe valued so highly and was so proud to learn in the thirteenth century? Let us once more go back to the beginnings of it.

It is a well-known fact that the first cause of the phonetic changes and transformations of language lies in the structure of the vocal organs; or, in other words, in difference of pronunciation; and this again results from difference of race. Thus the Latin, introduced into Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and spoken by three different races, each in its own way, was gradually decomposed, as we have seen, into three corresponding languages. In Gaul, popular Latin falling into the hands of two rival races, one in the North and the other in the South, produced two distinct idioms, that of the South, or the 'Langue d'Oc,' and that of the North, called the 'Langue d'Oïl'.¹ These curious names spring from the custom, not uncommon in the Middle Ages, of designating languages by the sign of affirmation; just as Dante calls the Italian 'la lingua di sì'.² The modern French *oui* was *oïl* in the North, and *oc* in the South of France.³

The 'Langue d'Oïl,' which prevailed in districts inhabited by populations whose characteristic differences were strongly marked (the Normans, Picards, Burgundians, &c., having

¹ A line drawn from La Rochelle to Grenoble will fairly represent the frontiers of the two dialects: north of it we have the 'Langue d'Oïl,' south of it the 'Langue d'Oc.'

This 'Langue d'Oc,' or, as it is now more commonly called, Provençal, from the chief district in which it obtained, was developed alongside of the Northern dialect; and in the twelfth century was the parent of a brilliant lyrical literature.

The rivalry of North and South, which ended in the Albigensian war, and the defeat of the South, gave the death blow to this Provençal literature. In 1272 Languedoc became French, and the French dialect soon prevailed. The Provençal, Languedoc, and Gascon *patois*, which still linger on in the South, are but the fragmentary remains of this 'Langue d'Oc' which was so brilliant a language for two centuries.

[² *Vulg. Eloq.* i. 8; *Inf.* xxxiii. 80.]

[³ *Oïl* (mod. *oui*) comes from Lat. *hoc-illud*; *oc* from Lat. *hoc*. Ital. *sì* comes from Lat. *sic*.]

their own peculiarities of pronunciation), gave rise in its turn to as many corresponding dialects. And this was the easier, because there was no one capital of the whole kingdom which could lay down laws of style and models of speech for the whole country. When feudalism broke up Gaul into a number of local principalities, each having its own capital and political centre, with its own administration and literature, each great district became independent, with its own political and literary life, its own tongue, manners, and customs.

Thus in Normandy or Picardy all official acts and literary works were in the Norman or Picard dialect: the dialect of the Île de France, or French, as it was then called, was regarded in Normandy as almost a foreign language. And thus their political separation led these districts to confirm this division of the language into dialects, a division which sprang originally, however, from a real difference of race.

There were in the Middle Ages four principal dialects of the 'Langue d'Oïl'—Norman, Picard, Burgundian, and French¹ (the dialect of the Île de France alone), the last lying in the centre of the triangle formed by the other three. These four dialects, which were equal in power and influence, had such marked differences, that even strangers were struck by them: thus, Roger Bacon (who was in France in 1240), when seeking to show in his *Opus Majus* what is meant by the dialects of a language, chooses French as his example. 'The idioms of the same language,' he says, 'differ with different people, as is evident from the French language, which varies in idiom severally with the French, the Normans, the Picards, and the Burgundians, so that what is considered a correct manner of speech by the Picards is intolerable to the Burgundians, and even to their near neighbours the French².'

¹ 'Frenchman,' in the Middle Ages, was exclusively the name of the inhabitant of the Île de France. [See § 572 n.]

² 'Nam et idiomata ejusdem lingue variantur apud diversos, sicut patet

These differences of dialect, as was the case in Greece, are seen not in the syntax, but only in the forms of words, which were quite distinct in each dialect: thus, for example, *amábam* became, in the twelfth century, *amève* in Burgundy, *amoie* in the Île de France, and *amoue* in Normandy. This instance shows us how Latin words shrank and became 'blurred,' as it were, as they went northwards: they form a kind of sensitive thermometer, which falls as we go farther from the South; and this, not by a violent change, but by a series of gradual modifications. And when we observe how these modifications are effected by insensible steps as we pass from one climate to another, we feel that we have before us a natural phenomenon, and that words, like plants, are modified by climate, or, to use a scientific term, that climate is one of the *factors* of language.

In the Middle Ages, these four dialects of the 'Langue d'Oïl' (like the four Greek dialects, Ionian, Aeolian, Attic, and Dorian) produced four distinct literatures—we can easily distinguish a Norman from a French or a Burgundian writer. It is clear that the literary character of France in the twelfth century differs completely from that of our days. While now a single language offers itself as a model of perfection to be followed by all writers, we see that under Philip Augustus there were four distinct and official languages, all of equal authority, and each within its own province supreme. How did it come about that the four were reduced to one, and why was the dialect of the Île de France adopted as the common tongue rather than the Norman or the Burgundian?

The feudal system, in parcelling out the country, had secured the independence of the chief districts in politics, language, and literature; when, however, feudalism gave

de *lingua Gallicana* quae apud *Gallicos*, et *Normannos*, et *Picardos*, et *Burgundos* multiplici variatur idiomate. Et quod proprie dicitur in idiomate *Picardorum* horrescit apud *Burgundos*, imo apud *Gallicos* viciniore.' Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, iii. 44.

place to a central monarchy, the dialects also fell, and were suppressed by a central language. It was inevitable that the dialect of the dominant province should become the type of the language of the whole people.

Thus the language must depend on political movements ; and the election of Hugh Capet, Duke of France, to be king, settled the question, and made Paris the capital of France. Still, throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Capetian sovereigns, lords of little but the Île de France and the Orleans territory, had no influence outside the royal domain ; and the dialects retained their original vigour and independence, nor did any one of them venture to assert superiority over the others. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the sovereignty of the Capets had grown strong, and with its growth the French dialect also prevailed. The lords of the Île de France were always growing stronger at the expense of their neighbours. In 1101 Philip I acquired Berry ; a century later Picardy was ceded to Philip Augustus, who seized Touraine in 1203, and Normandy in 1204 ; Languedoc was added in 1272, and Champagne in 1361.

The French dialect followed the triumphant progress of the Duke of France, and displaced the dialects of the conquered provinces. Thus, to take Picardy as an example, French was first introduced into the official acts of the conquerors, then into literary works, and finally it was adopted by all who wished to be regarded as gentlemen. The people alone resisted and kept their ancient speech ; and the Picard, now no longer written, but only spoken by the commons, and subject to incessant alterations, fell from the rank of a *dialect*, that is, of a written and spoken language, to that of a *patois*, that is, of a merely spoken idiom, not recognized by the French literary language.

And so, in less than three centuries, the Norman, the Picard, and the Burgundian dialects were supplanted by that of the Île de France, and became mere *patois*. Attentive observation can still discover in the latter the characteristic

marks of those medieval dialects which now survive only in their respective literatures.

Patois are not then, as is commonly believed, a corruption of the literary language in the peasant's mouth : they are the remains of former provincial dialects, which, owing to political causes, have dropped from the rank of official and literary languages to that of merely spoken tongues. The history of French *patois* shows us how important they are for the study of the language ; and the best thanks of philologists are due to the Académie des Inscriptions for the prizes with which that body has attempted to stimulate the study of these débris of the Old French language.

The final triumph of French over the neighbouring dialects was not won without a struggle, in which the victor received many a wound. A certain number of forms borrowed from the defeated dialects entered into the French language. There are words in modern French the origin of which can be traced to the Norman or the Burgundian, words not in complete harmony with the proper analogy of the French, and therefore easily to be recognized as strangers. 'Though familiarity leads us to pass over these irregularities without notice, still when we study the medieval French dialects, we soon learn to detect the interpolations,' which destroy the uniformity and fair proportion of the language. Thus the hard *c* of the Latin became *ch* in the Île de France, and *c* in Picardy : *campus*, *cantare*, *carta*, *castellum*, *campania*, *catus*, *cappa*, *cancellus*, *carriicare*, &c., became in the Île de France *champ*, *chanter*, *charte*, *chastel*, *champagne*, *chat*, *chappe*, *chancel*, *charger*, &c., but in Picardy, *camp*, *canter*, *carte*, *castel*, *campagne*, *cat*, *cappe*, *cancel*, *carguer*, &c. Now, in these instances, though modern French has generally followed the *ch* form, it has not done so always ; thus it has taken *campagne* in preference to *champagne*¹. In a few cases it has adopted both forms with

[¹ *Camp*, *campagne*, *carte*, *cappe*, are probably not Picard, but Italian or Spanish forms.]

different senses, though they are in reality the same word : as from *campus*, *champ* and *camp* ; from *cappa*, *chappe* and *cappe* ; from *cancellus*, *chancel* and *cancel* ; from *carta*, *charte* and *carte* ; from *capsa*, *châsse* and *caisse* ; from *castellum*, *château* and *castel* ; from *carricare*, *charger* and *carguer* ; and so on. The same might be shown to be true in the case of Norman and Burgundian forms ; the above, however, form a sufficient example¹.

This transformation was completed in the fourteenth century ; the monarchy, so weak three centuries before, became all-powerful, and with it the dialect of the Île de France became supreme ; the other dialects ceased to exist, and were represented by *patois* ; the French language sprang into existence.

In brief, the popular Latin, transported into Gaul, produced, eight centuries later, the 'Langue d'Oïl,' of which one division or dialect, that of the Île de France, supplanted all the rest, and, in the fourteenth century, became the French language². The same process went on in the other Latin

¹ Such double forms as *fleurir* and *florir*, *grincer* and *grincher*, *attaquer* and *attacher*, *écorcher* and *écorder*, *charrier* and *charroyer*, *plier* and *ployer*, are also due to the dialects, and were originally the same word. Now that the history of the language has furnished us with the true explanation, it is amusing to see the grammarians decreeing that *plier* and *ployer* are different in origin, and establishing completely artificial distinctions between them, distinctions which are at once proved false by the study of the Old French.

² Let us sum up the elements of the language. The foundation is popular Latin with a strong German element introduced in the fifth century ; a few faint traces of Celtic may be noticed in it. When this language was fully formed, some oriental elements were thrown in about the thirteenth century ; in the sixteenth were added a number of Italian and Spanish words ; in the nineteenth several expressions of English origin have been accepted ; to say nothing of the scientific words drawn from the dead languages and brought in by the learned, chiefly in the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The oriental elements are Hebrew and Arabic. It was a favourite theory of old etymologists that all languages are derived from the Hebrew ; but modern philology has proved them wrong, and has established as a law that 'the elements of language answer to the elements of race.' Now the Frenchman does not belong to the same race as a Jew ; and such resemblances as

countries: here too the provincial dialects gave place eventually to one common tongue. Thus the Tuscan in Italy, and the Castilian in Spain, supplanted the others; and the Milanese, the Venetian, the Sicilian, on the one hand, and the Andalusian, and the Navarrese on the other, fell from the dignity of written dialects into the position of *patois*.

What then was this thirteenth-century French language which lay half-way between the Latin of the Roman peasant and the French of Chateaubriand?

Let us study its constitution and forms, and take note of the path followed by the popular Latin since the fall of the Empire, and of the distance which separates this old French from the French of to-day.

Every one knows that the great difference between French and Latin is that the French expresses the relation of words by their *position*, the Latin by their *form*. The Latin might say equally well 'canis occidit lupum,' or 'lupum occidit canis'; in French 'le chien tua le loup' is very different

may exist between their languages are accidental. When Jerome translated the Old Testament into Latin he incorporated into his version certain Hebrew words which had no Latin equivalents, as *seraphim*, *Gehenna*, *pascha*, &c.; from Latin they passed at a later time into French (*séraphin*, *gène*, *pâque*). But they came in from the Latin, not from the Hebrew. The same is the case with the Arabic; its relations with French have been purely accidental. To say nothing of those words which express oriental things, such as *Alcoran*, *bey*, *cadi*, *caravane*, *derviche*, *firman*, *janissaire*, &c., which were brought into the West by travellers, the French language received, in the Middle Ages, many Arabic words from another source. The Crusades, the great impulse given to learning by the Arabians, the study of oriental philosophers, who were much followed in France between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, enriched the vocabulary with many words belonging to the three sciences which the Arabians cultivated successfully: in astronomy it gave such words as *asimuth*, *nadir*, *zénith*; in alchemy, *alcali*, *alcool*, *alambic*, *alchimie*, *élixir*, *sirop*; in mathematics, *algèbre*, *séro*, *chiffre*. Still, even so these words did not come direct from the Arabic to the French; they passed through the scientific Latin of the Middle Ages. In fact, the oriental languages have had little or no popular or direct influence on the French.

from 'le loup tua le chien.' The Frenchman recognizes the sense of a word by its position, the Roman by its termination: the Latin, in fact, has declensions, the French has none. We ask, How has this come about? Were there always six cases in Latin? Has French never had more than one case? Let us see what answer history will give.

The tendency to simplify and reduce the number of cases appeared early in popular Latin: the rough barbarians could not grasp the more delicate shades of meaning expressed by them. So, being incapable of using so learned and complicated a system as that of the Latin declensions, they constructed a new declension to suit their wants—a declension which was far more simple, though really far less efficient; for it involved the frequent reproduction of the same form. In the fifth century there were only *two* cases instead of *six*—the nominative to mark the subject, the accusative (chosen because of its frequent recurrence) for the object. Thenceforward the popular Latin declension was (1) subjective case, **muru-s**; (2) objective case, **muru-m**. This afterwards became the base of French declension for the first half of the Middle Ages; and the Old French retained these two cases in the singular and plural. Thus Old French was originally a semi-synthetic language, half-way between synthetic Latin and analytic modern French.

The reader is referred to the body of this book for the destiny and vicissitudes of this declension. It survived in full vigour down to the thirteenth century, gradually fell into decay in the fourteenth, and in the fifteenth gave place to the modern construction¹.

The revolution by which Old French passed into modern French gives us a picture of the way in which the Latin language was disintegrated at the time of the fall of the

¹ The secondary modifications, consequent on the dying out of this declension, are considered below, in the chapters on pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

Roman Empire ; in losing four of its six cases, it passed into Old French and so, with only two cases, descended from the rank of a synthetic to that of a semi-synthetic language. In the fourteenth century the declension in two cases in its turn disappeared, giving place to that single case which alone exists in modern French. The loss of this declension, which converted the semi-synthetic Old French into the analytical modern tongue, caused the former to become rapidly antiquated, and placed between it and the present language a far broader gulf than that which separates Old Italian from the Italian of to-day.

It would be folly to regret the loss of this old declension : we can only regard it with interest as the bridge over which the French language has passed in its journey from the ancient to the modern world. Nature never advances by leaps and bounds, but with slow and gradual movement. In the passage from Latin to French this two-case declension acted as a stage between the six cases of the Classical Latin, and the modern form with its single case.

It shows us too, once more, how the language and the political history of the country have moved constantly in parallel lines. In the fourteenth century the social edifice built up by medieval feudalism begins to crumble ; Philip the Fair strikes a fatal blow at the independence of nobles and clergy, and begins the reform of the administrative monarchy, which is carried on by Charles V and Louis XI and finally completed by Richelieu and Louis XIV. The Old French moved with the times, seeking to supply the needs of a new form of society. The movement went on throughout the fourteenth century, the analytical or modern spirit rapidly gaining ground ; declension in two cases, variations of dialect, which had flourished in the twelfth century, were abandoned, and by the end of the fourteenth century Old French was gone. The fifteenth century saw the birth of modern French. To the new tongue corresponded a new political France. With the mishaps and the shame of the House of Valois

society underwent another change: the spirit of modern times began to be felt; the Renaissance dawned. The strong and expressive language of Communes¹ is very like modern French. By its means we can gauge the rapid course of the language during two centuries; at the death of Louis XI, France was organized, and her language nearly established.

The beginning of the sixteenth century, without introducing anything new, secured and confirmed the language of the fifteenth century. The French of Calvin's famous *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (1535) is completely ripe and full: it expresses with ease all shades of meaning. The language seems to be firmly fixed, and had it remained as it then was, it might have escaped the criticisms of Malherbe and the seventeenth-century savants; but immediately after this period it was damaged by an extravagant influx of foreign words, borrowed from Latin, Greek, and Italian.

The many expeditions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I across the Alps, and the lengthened stay of the French armies in Italy, made the Italian language familiar to the French. The splendour of the Italian Renaissance in literature and art dazzled the French mind, while the regency of Catherine de' Medici gave the prestige of fashion to everything Italian. This Italian influence was omnipotent at the courts of Francis I and Henry II; and the courtiers, completely imbued with it, passed it on to the nation. Then for the first time appeared in books a number of hitherto unknown words: the old military terms *heaume*, *brand*, *haubert*, &c., disappeared, and were replaced by Italian words learnt in the wars of Italy, such as *carabine* (carabina); *gabion* (gabbione); *escadre* (scadra); *parapet* (parapetto); *fantassin* (fantaccino); *infanterie* (infanteria); *citadelle* (cittadella); *estramaçon* (stramazzone); *embuscade* (imboscata); *alerte* (all'erta), &c. This mania for *Italianism* very properly aroused

[¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. lxxxiii.).]

the ire of a contemporary writer, Henri Estienne, who, in his *Dialogue du françois italianisé*, says with some vehemence, 'A few years hence, the whole world will believe that France learnt the art of war from the school of Italy, because it will be seen that she uses none but Italian war-terms.' And not only war-terms; Catharine de' Medici introduced a number of words relating to court life—*courtisan* (cortigiano); *affidé*, (affidato); *charlatan* (ciarlatano); *escorte* (scorta); *camériste* (camerista); *bouffon* (buffone); *faquin* (facchino); *bravé* (bravo); *carrosse* (carrozza), &c. Terms of art also came in with Primaticcio and Leonardo da Vinci, such as *balcon* (balcone); *costume* (costume); *baldaquin* (baldacchino); *cadence* (cadenza); *cartouche* (cartuccio), &c.; and lastly, the commercial relations between the countries left some deposits in language, such as *bilan* (bilancia); *agio* (aggio); *escale* (scala); *banque* (banca); *banqueroute* (bancarotta), &c.

The *Italianisers*, as they were styled in the sixteenth century, went further still, and tried to shoulder out French words in ordinary speech, and to substitute Italian ones; thus your man of taste would not deign to say *suffire*, *grand revenu*, *la première fois*, but *baster*, *grosse intrade*, *la première volte*, because the Italians said *bastare*, *entrata*, *volta*, &c.

To this pernicious influence was added another, the mania for antiquity. It was a time of great classical fervour; and the admirers of these newly-disclosed treasures despised the more homely French, and wished to bring in the majesty of expression and of thought which they admired so much among the ancients. One of them, Joachim du Bellay, ventured to set forth a celebrated manifesto, entitled *Defense et illustration de la langue françoise* (1548), in which he proposed a plan for the creation of a more poetical and nobler language by the wholesale importation of Latin and Greek words in their natural state. He sought to ennoble the French language by borrowing largely from ancient tongues, and to enrich French poetry by introducing the literary forms employed in classical masterpieces. 'Our

ancestors,' he writes, 'have left our tongue so poor and bare that it needs ornaments, and, if we may so speak, borrowed plumes. But who would dare to say that the Greek and Latin languages were always in that excellent state in which we find them in the days of Homer and Demosthenes, Virgil and Cicero? Translation alone will not suffice to raise our vulgar French to the level of these more famous tongues. What then must be done? Imitate, imitate the Romans, as they did the Greeks, as Cicero imitated Demosthenes, and Virgil Homer. . . And so, Frenchmen, once more march boldly towards the superb city of Rome, and with its spoils adorn your temples and your altars. . . Invade that "Graecia mendax," and once more call into being the famous nation of Gallo-Greeks. Without scruple carry off, I urge you, the sacred treasures of the Delphic shrine, even as you have once before with strong hand pillaged it.'

This manifesto proclaimed aloud the double aim of the reformers; they wished to ennoble the French tongue by borrowing largely from the classical languages; and to ennoble French poetry by importing into it the literary styles current among the ancients.

One of the Duke of Orleans' pages, Pierre de Ronsard, a gentleman of Vendôme, resolved to carry out Du Bellay's reform. Throwing aside the indigenous French poetry, he abruptly introduced Latin epic poetry and Greek tragedy. Thanks to his efforts, France for two centuries regarded these two ancient forms of narrative and dramatic poetry as alone legitimate in point of good taste, and as alone capable of receiving noble inspirations¹. How far this idea was in harmony with the age, and in what way it was carried out, we need not here inquire; we will only say that in essaying to reform French poetry, Ronsard also hoped to reform the French language,

'Et pouvoir en François parler grec et latin.'

¹ G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. III.

He broke completely with the past, and threw the literature of his country into a wretched course of imitation, which nearly proved fatal to its national character. In order to create new words he recklessly seized on Greek and Latin terms, and dressed up several hundreds of them with French terminations. Literary Latin and Greek, which had given practically nothing to the French language before¹, now had their turn, and, thanks to Ronsard's school, learned terms, such as *ocymore*, *entéléchie*, *oligochronien*, &c., passed in from every side.

Ronsard's disciples² far outstripped their master. Not

¹ We have already shown this for the literary Latin. As to Greek, the two languages never came in contact with one another; the patriotic fables invented by Henri Estienne, Joachim Périon, and Ménage, to prove the affinity of French and Greek, are mere extravagances. Marseilles, the only Greek city which could have brought this about, was at an early date absorbed by the Romans, and soon lost its Greek tongue. There are indeed some few Greek words in early popular French before the sixteenth century, such as *chère*, *somme*, *parole*; but these do not come straight from the Greek *κάρα*, *σάγμα*, *παράβολή*, but through the Latin, which adopted and handed them on. We may in fact say of Greek, as we have said of the Oriental tongues, that it has had absolutely no direct influence on the French.

² We must distinguish between the master and his school. Ronsard was very far above his followers. He had real poetical genius, and as a reformer of language had many happy and true ideas. He recommended the *pro-vignement* (the pruning) of old words, the careful study of *patois*, and the adoption from them of fresh resources for the language. He was not *tout brouillé*, as Boileau says—Boileau who dealt with him as an executioner rather than as a judge. Let us add the verdict of M. Géroze upon him; it is clear and true. 'Ronsard at first carried his contemporaries by storm; and their admiration often led him astray. And he has been over-praised and over-blackened: "c'était," as Balzac says of him, "le commencement d'un poète." He had poetic enthusiasm without taste. If he has failed utterly in his epics and Pindaric odes, we must not forget that there is a true nobility of poetry in some passages of his *Bocage royal*, his *Hymnes*, and his *Discours sur les misères du temps*. M. Sainte-Beuve, who in our days has reviewed the whole controversy on this point, shows that in sonnets and Anacreontic pieces Ronsard takes very high rank. Malherbe, who so happily made use of many of Ronsard's efforts, ought to have blamed less severely the slips of the poet who was the martyr as well as the hero of his cause.'

satisfied with creating new words by handfuls, they wished to reconstruct words already in being, and to bring the whole language nearer to the Latin type. Thus, for example, the Latin *otiosus* and *vindicare* had produced *oiseux* and *venger*; these reformers declared such forms null and void, and prescribed the use of *otieux* and *vindiquer* instead, these forms being closer copies of antiquity. A step further and they would have reverted to the original Latin and Greek.

This absurdity was received with boundless enthusiasm, an enthusiasm capable of easy explanation. The French people never understood anything about this new language, which was not made for them. As to the learned, 'this artificial idiom did not seem to them at all ridiculous; they were only likely to see its copious wealth; the divergence between it and the popular spoken language was but another recommendation to their favour. The knowledge of Latin, then so widely spread, was a key to the understanding of this idiom; and the learned thanked the poet for innovations only intelligible to educated ears like theirs. Thus the higher poetry came to speak a language which appealed only to the initiated, and was held dear by those alone who stood apart from the "profanum vulgus" of the age.'

At last the good sense of the nation protested against such extravagances. Malherbe led the reaction. The unnatural Greek and Latin words, so rudely thrust in by force, he instantly and easily drove out. Thanks to him, *entéléchie*, *otieux*, *vindiquer*, and the like, had but a transitory life. He did his utmost to put an end to the utter confusion caused by the creation of new terms from Latin words which were already represented by popular forms in French. Thus, from *pagina*, *plaga*, *perfectus*, *peregrinus*, the pedants, in servile imitation of the Latin had created *pagine*, *plague*, *perfect*, *peregrin*, rejecting the older *page*, *plaie*, *parfait*¹, *pèlerin*.

[¹ It should be noted that *parfait* comes not from *perfectus*, which gave O. F. *parfit*, but from *per-factus*.]

These artificial terms Malherbe cast out, reinstating in each case the ancient word. Still, several held their own by the side of the others; thus we have *incruster* and *encroûter*, *faction* and *façon*, *potion* and *poison*, &c. Malherbe, like all reformers, went too far; and many of the rules he laid down were stupid and even ridiculous. In reforming the laws of poetry and versification he often took the wrong road; but his reforms in the matter of language were in the right direction. He 'appealed from Rome and Athens to the streets of Paris. 'If any one asked his opinion about any French word, he always sent him to the street-porters at the Port au Foin, saying that they were his masters in language¹.'

He had scarcely done his work when a new mania attacked the language. The sixteenth century had begun by imitating Italy; the first half of the seventeenth century took Spain for its model, and underwent a Spanish invasion. The wars of the League and the Spanish armies in France spread far and wide the knowledge of the Spanish language, and with the language came in also the fashions and follies of Spain. The court of Henry IV was 'Spaniardised.' Sully tells us that the courtiers did nothing but utter Castilian cries and exclamations. 'We heard them ever and anon cry aloud "*Jésus-Sire*," and with doleful voice exclaim "*Il en faut mourir*"².' Accordingly, a new class of words borrowed from the Spanish now makes its appearance for the first time; such as *capitan* (capitan); *duègne* (dueña); *guilare* (guitara); *haquenée* (hacanea); *camarade* (camarada); *nègre* (negro); *case* (casa), &c.

The Hôtel de Rambouillet, the Précieuses, the Academy, and the grammarians (Vaugelas, D'Olivet, Thomas Corneille) continued in the seventeenth century the work of purification which Malherbe had begun; but they went to extremes, and dried up the living sources of the language. The record of their excisions and suppressions is contained in the *Diction-*

¹ Racan, *Vie de Malherbe*.

² Sully, *Mémoires*, ii. 2.

naire de l'Académie (first ed. 1694), which is an alphabetical collection of all French words sanctioned 'par le bon usage',¹ beyond the range of which no author dare stray who aspires to be classed among writers of pure French.

Were I writing the history of the French language, instead of merely a fugitive sketch, I should here have to trace the personal influence exercised upon its progress and formation by such great writers as Pascal, Bossuet, Molière, in the seventeenth century, and, in the eighteenth, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

I must be content with remarking that the language underwent very little change in the eighteenth century, during which few additions were made to it. Voltaire introduced some orthographical reforms (such as *ai* for *oi*, *français* for *françois*). Some grammarians (like the Abbé Dangeau) tried, after the example of Ramus and Expilly, to introduce phonetic spelling—a thing in itself absurd, because the orthography of a word is a direct result of its etymology, and to alter it would be to despoil a word, so to speak, of its pedigree. Others, following in the steps of Bacon, Descartes, and Leibnitz, dreamt of an universal language. These views resulted from the philosophical theories of the eighteenth century. 'As the philosophers tried to conceive man in what they called "the state of nature" in order to trace the progress of his sentiments, passions, and intelligences, so did the grammarians follow after the idea of a primitive language². They sought to determine *a priori* the ideas necessary to people in a state of infancy, and the sounds employed to express these ideas.' Philosophical grammarians (like De Brosses, Condillac, &c.) conceived that there existed some one language more natural to mankind

¹ *Dict. de l'Acad. Française*. Ed. 1694. Preface.

² De Brosses meant by his 'primitive language,' not a supposed language whence all others were derived, but that which nature breathes into all men, as a necessary consequence of the action of the soul on the bodily organs.

than all others ; and this they made every effort to discover, frittering away their lives in sterile discussions and haphazard theorising.

The introduction of new terms, which seemed to be arrested after the sixteenth century, has begun again in our own time to a far greater extent than in Ronsard's days, and indeed, with a much better justification. The struggle between the classic and the romantic schools, which has gone on since 1824, the growth of journalism, science, and trade, and the ever-widening acquaintance with foreign literatures, have all contributed to this result.

The new words of this century are of two classes, good or bad, according as they are useful importations or pernicious neologisms. Of the good class are the fifteen to twenty thousand words introduced to meet the needs of science and trade (*photographie, gazomètre, télégraphie, &c.*)—for new ideas required new terms to express them ; and with them we class those foreign words which owe their introduction to the evergrowing frequency of international communication. Most of these come from England, and are derived either from politics and political economy, such as *budget, jury, drawback, warrant, bill, convict, &c.* ; or from sport, as *turf, jockey, dandy, festival, clown, groom, steeplechase, boxe, whist, touriste, cottage, square, tilbury, dogue, &c.* ; or from industrial pursuits, as *drainage, tender, wagon, rail, tunnel, ballast, express, dock, stock, &c.* ; to say nothing of naval terms¹.

By the side of these novelties—which form a language apart within the French language and are necessary because they express new ideas—we have also pernicious and entirely superfluous ones, since they express old ideas by new terms, where older words were already in existence, and were understood by every one. In the seventeenth century every one

¹ It is a curious fact that many of these English words are Old French words imported into England in the eleventh century by the Normans, which have now recrossed the channel in English dress. Thus *fashion* is the old *façon* ; *tunnel* the O. F. *tonnel* (now *tonneau*) ; and so on.

said *fonder*, *toucher*, *tromper*, *émouvoir* ; the nineteenth prefers *baser*, *impressionner*, *illusionner*, *émotionner*, &c.¹ Journalism and Parliament have flooded France with these new words, and have, besides, produced a new development of old words, in the shape of clumsy ill-proportioned derivatives, such as *régler*, *règlement*, then *réglementer*, and at last *réglementation* from *règle* ; and *constitution*, *constitutionnel*, *constitutionnalité*, *inconstitutionnalité*, *inconstitutionnellement*, from *constituer* ; and so on. Under this new growth of terminations, this inundation of prefixes and suffixes, the true and simple old language is in danger of being entirely swamped and lost.

It is not easy to predict the future of the French language ; but we may feel sure that its permanence will be due to the maintenance of a balanced and harmonious proportion between novelty and tradition, the necessary foundations of every language—between novelty, needful for the expression of new ideas, and tradition, careful guardian of old ideas and of the old words which express them.

Two lessons may be learnt from this long history of the French tongue : first, that languages are not stationary and petrified, but living, and, like all things living, full of motion. Like plants and animals they spring into life, they grow, and they decay. ‘*Natura nil facit per saltum*,’ said the sagacious Linnaeus ; and this is as true of language, the fourth realm of nature, as of the other three. At first sight the distance between peasant Latin and Voltaire’s French seems very great ; yet by a series of minute changes continued through a long period of time we have passed, as we have seen, from the one to the other.

‘*Nature*,’ says G. Paris, ‘is prodigal of time and sparing of effort’ ; and thus with slow and almost insensible changes, she reaches results far away from her point of departure.

¹ It is claimed that these new words express certain subtle shades of meaning. But these fine distinctions are almost always illusory. What real difference can exist between *baser* and *fonder* ?

And next, we learn that language, being, even more than literature, the expression or voice of society, changes and is modified with it: the advance of language is parallel with that of society. Hence it is that no language is perfectly rigid or at rest; it moves incessantly; and that which La Harpe and the critics of the eighteenth century call 'the state of perfection' of a language is a purely imaginary condition of things. It was thought at that time, as Balzac held, that the French language had been permanently fixed at a certain moment, and that all good examples were to be found within a very limited circle of years 'outside which circle everything is either in the imperfection of youth or in the decadence of old age.' Philology has shown us how false it is to speak of any language as fixed; it changes with society. We may regret the French of the age of Louis XIV, but it would be childish to try to revive it, and apply it to the needs of our own times; the people (and after all the language is made for them) would never learn this language of a past age, cast in a mould entirely unsuited to their habits of thought. Those who are desirous of making such an attempt mistake the true laws of speech; they forget that the function of a language is to express all the ideas of a society; and that as each age has new ideas, new forms of speech must ever be added: besides, to fix a language at such and such an age would be to make it immoveable, and what is immobility but death? Languages are like plants: the action of time on them, as on everything, is irreparable; we can no more restore a language to its former state than we can make the oak shrink back into the acorn. The hope of possessing perfection must indeed be renounced; it is not destined for us. 'C'est qu'en aucune chose, peut-être, il n'est donné à l'homme d'arriver au but; sa gloire est d'y marcher'¹.

¹ M. Guizot, *Civilisation en Europe*.

II.

THE FORMATION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

WHOEVER looks even superficially at the French language cannot fail to notice a distinction between such words as *simuler*, *mobile*, *ration*, which profess to be faithful copies of the Latin words **simulare**, **mobilis**, **rationem**, and another set of words like *sembler*, *meuble*, *raison*, which evidently come from the same sources, though they are shorter in form, and apparently farther removed from their Latin ancestry. We have seen above that these are two distinct formations of words which, though both have come from the Latin, are of very different origin, the one being popular, the other learned; the former good, formed before the twelfth century, a spontaneous and unconscious product; the latter modern, chiefly of the sixteenth century, artificial and conscious, the deliberate work of the learned, who have forcibly introduced into the language the terms they needed.

The greater length of form affected by the learned words is, however, a merely exterior and superficial characteristic, with nothing certain or scientific about it. Naturalists never classify by length or size, but by internal signs and qualities, the observation of which enables them to proceed with perfect certainty; and similarly, philology, the natural history of language, does not distinguish popular words by their dimensions, but by certain internal characteristics. These specific characteristics, of which the most marked is the persistence in French of the Latin tonic accent, are sure touchstones by

which to test popular words and to separate them from words of learned origin.

Popular words, by retaining the Latin tonic accent in its right place, show that they were formed from the Roman pronunciation while it yet survived ; that they were formed by the ear, not by the eye, and that they spring directly from a living and spoken language. Learned words, on the other hand, which violate the Latin accent and pronunciation, are in reality barbarisms, opposed to the laws of formation of both languages. For, long after Latin had become a dead language, these words were created by the learned, who drew them out of books, and thrust them, just as they were, into the French language. Popular words, then, are spontaneous, natural, unconscious ; learned words intentional, artificial, consciously fabricated : instinct is the mother of the former, reflexion of the latter.

Hence we may understand the exact time at which, as an historical fact, the French language came into being. French was alive and Latin dead from the day that men no longer naturally understood the Latin accent. This took place definitively about the eleventh century. The same epoch is the date of the full creation of the popular French language. Thenceforth whatever words enter in are learned words. These exotics appear in great numbers in the fourteenth century ; Aristotle is translated by Nicolas Oresme, Livy by Bercheure : to express ancient ideas they are compelled to fashion new words, and so they transplant from Latin into French a crowd of words, the form of which is not really changed. Thus, Bercheure writes *consulat*, *tribunitien*, *faction*, *magistrat*, *triomphe*, &c. ; and Oresme gives us *aristocratie*, *altération*, *démocratie*, *tyrannie*, *monarchie*, *animosité*, *agonie*, &c. Only too often they construct these words in opposition to all the rules of formation, and violate the law of accent at every step. Thus Bercheure writes *colonie* from *colónia* ; Oresme *agile* from *ágilis*, &c. This influx of learned words increases throughout the fifteenth

century; it breaks bounds and floods the language of the sixteenth century. In the earlier part of this Introduction¹ it is shown that this invasion, arrested by Malherbe, ceased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while it was renewed with increased energy in the nineteenth.

These words, which form, as it were, a language within the language, are more numerous than the good old words, and many of them have already passed out of books into the common speech of men.

Now, looked at with the eyes of a philologist, a word or phrase is beautiful so far as it is regular, i. e. so far as it obeys the laws of its formation. And therefore learned words, which break the true law of accent, are vexatious blots on the surface of a language formed regularly and logically; they mar the fair arrangement and harmonious analogy of the whole. Not that we ought to erase these words from our dictionaries. 'It would be ridiculous,' says G. Paris, in his work on *L'Accent Latin*², 'to try to retrace our steps: the language is a *fait accompli*; we cannot prescribe these lawless words of learned origin; but we may be allowed to feel regret at their introduction into the language—so much destruction have they caused to the fair frame on which it was constructed.' And consequently the language of the seventeenth century, which has fewer learned words in it than that of the nineteenth, is, in the philologist's eyes, more regular, better proportioned, and therefore more beautiful than that of our own day. For the same reason, the language of the thirteenth century, which has still fewer of these blemishes, seems to the philologist to be yet more perfect, for its perfection springs from obedience to law.

Now, this manner of valuing language can be correct only so far as we distinguish carefully between the *form* and the *expression*.

The language of the seventeenth century, so interesting

¹ Above, pp. 34-35.

² p. 35.

to the student in literature and to the artist, who examine carefully the great works it has produced, offers but little that is interesting to the philologist or the historian, who examine the language itself. In matter of *form*, if compared with the French of the previous centuries, it is a language already impaired by being overloaded with learned words; the regular structure we admired so much at the outset is altogether lost.

Now, if it be considered from the point of view of *expression*, the language of the seventeenth century recovers its supremacy; it is more analytical than that of the thirteenth century, and more able to handle abstract ideas; as an instrument of expression, the idiom of Racine is far superior to that of Villehardouin¹.

On the other hand, in matter of *form*, the farther we go back the more the French language improves. In the twelfth century it is entirely popular, with hardly a trace of learned words. We shall see hereafter how this regular structure, so fair at first, has been overgrown in modern French, and how false are the views which would call the earlier stages of a language the barbarous period. Thus Jacob Grimm's principle, that 'the literary period of a language is usually that of its linguistic decadence,' receives another confirmation. One might even say that instinct makes words, and reflexion spoils them; in a word, that the perfection of languages is in inverse proportion to their civilization; as society grows more cultivated, language becomes more degraded.

Again I would remind my readers that in this discussion language has been treated not artistically but scientifically. Language, like the garden, may and should be studied from two points of view: the artist looks only at the beauty of the rose, the botanist studies the regularity of its structure and the place it holds in the vegetable world; the artist may find

[¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. xlv.)]

something to admire in a clipped yew-tree ; to the botanist it is only an artificial monstrosity, which cannot be classified, and is quite unworthy his attention. So too with language ; while the literary man has to consider it from an artistic point of view, and mark its aesthetic beauty, our task is a different one : the philologist, for whom language is a living organism, looks at *form* rather than *expression*, and seeks to discover the laws of its structure : an idiom is beautiful in his eyes in so far as it is regular. This distinction the reader must always bear in mind. Alphabet, inflexions, formation of words—here are the three divisions into which our subject naturally falls. And the guiding-line through this labyrinth of language is the strict distinction of popular from learned words ; the former spontaneous and regular, the latter conscious, the arbitrary and personal work of the learned, not to be referred to any proper laws. One example will explain our meaning.

When we say that the Latin *-atione* is always represented by *-aison* in French¹, as *ratione* : *raison* ; *satione* : *saison* ; *venatione* : *venaison*, &c., it is clear that we are speaking only of the popular language, and that we set aside such modern learned words as *station*, *ration*, *considération*, *vocation*, &c., which are servile copies of Latin forms.

Thus, then, the distinction between popular and learned words forms the foundation of this book : we propose to reject every word introduced since the formation of the language. And, farther, we shall always take care to cite, when necessary, the Old French (O. F.) forms ; for they explain the transition, and mark, like sign-posts, the road along which the Latin has passed on its way towards the French language. We shall better see how this transit has been accomplished when the successive stages of it are under our eyes. Thus, for instance, at first sight it is hard to see that *âme* comes from *anima* ; but the matter is made per-

¹ See §§ 11, ii ; 40, i.

fectly clear by history, our guiding-line ; for it shows us that in the thirteenth century the word was written *anme*, in the eleventh *aneme*, in the tenth *anime*, which leads us straight to the Latin *anima*.

These Old French forms, the natural links between the French and Latin languages, are like the runners in Lucretius who hand on from one to other the torch of life—

‘Et, quasi cursores, vital lampada tradunt.’

The Latin word passes thus from mouth to mouth, until, in an altered shape, it reaches our own days. How can we do better, if we would find it again without hesitation, than trace it regularly through the course of its whole journey?

We are about to enter in detail on the study of the main laws of the transition from Latin into French. ‘To understand the plan of the world,’ says Bacon, ‘we must patiently dissect nature.’ By patient study of particulars we rise to laws, which are as towers up which one climbs by the ladder of experience ; from their high top we see out far and wide. Strong in this great authority, we shall not fear to be reproached for stooping to the most minute details. The scientific mind, far from being crushed under the mass of little facts which it collects and observes, becomes stronger and more comprehensive according to the solidity with which it can found its conception of the whole on the knowledge of details. ‘Wilt thou understand and enjoy the whole?’ says Goethe ; ‘then learn to see it in its smallest parts.’

BOOK I.

PHONETICS.

§ 1. Phonetics is the study of the modifications and transformations of spoken sounds. We have here to deal only with French phonetics, that is, the study of the laws which govern the transformation of Latin words into French. These phonetic laws are as well established, and as invariable in their action, as are the laws of chemistry or physics. Strictly speaking, therefore, phonetic changes admit of no exceptions.

§ 2. The free action of the phonetic laws, however, is sometimes disturbed by the influence of *analogy*, which gives rise to so-called exceptional changes or exceptional forms. For example, it is a law that free tonic Latin *a* before *m* becomes *ai* in French (see § 32), but that pretonic Latin *a* under the same conditions remains *a* in French (see § 38, i.); thus *ámat*: *aime*, but *amánte*: *amant*. According to this law *amáre*, *amámus*, should give *amer*, *amons* (forms which actually existed in O. F.); but owing to the analogy of *aimes*, *aime*, the diphthong was substituted for the simple vowel, and we get in modern French the apparently exceptional forms *aimer*, *aimons*.

§ 3. Such changes are termed *analogical changes* as distinct from phonetic changes, and of course are subject to no fixed

[*a* (ā, ǣ); *e* (ē, æ, œ, ĩ); *e* (ě, ǽ); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ö); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

laws, being of an entirely arbitrary and irregular character. For example, since we get *aimer*, *aimons* on the analogy of *aime*, we might expect to find *vienir*, *vienons*, and *tenir*, *tenons*, on the analogy of *vient*, *tient*; but in these instances the analogical change has not taken place, and we have the phonetically correct forms *venir*, *venons*, and *tenir*, *tenons*. On the other hand, the analogical change has taken place in the case of *viendrai*, *tiendrai*, which were regularly in O. F. *vendrai*, *tendrai* (see § 53, n. ii).

VOWELS.

CHAPTER I.

Tonic and Atonic Vowels.

§ 4. IN every Latin word there is one accented syllable or vowel, which is pronounced with greater emphasis than the others, and has been well described as the 'soul' of the word¹. This accented syllable is termed the *tonic* syllable, the rest being termed *atonic* or unaccented; thus in the word *amicu*², the tonic vowel is *i*, the atonic vowels are *a* and *u*. Thus we get the division of vowels into *tonic* and *atonic*, according as they are accented or not, the latter being in

¹ By Diomedes the Grammarian: 'Est accentus velut anima vocis.'

² For convenience this tonic syllable in the Latin word is distinguished by the acute accent, the countertonic syllable (i.e. the syllable which receives the secondary accent) being distinguished by the grave accent, thus *òrnaméntu*, *càntatòre*. The final *m* in the Latin accusative (from which case French words are, as a rule, derived) having disappeared at an early date in popular Latin (see § 296), will be omitted from the examples throughout the book. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that such forms as *càntatòre*, *amòre*, *fide*, &c., represent, not ablatives, but accusatives.

[*a* (*ā*, *ǣ*); *e* (*ē*, *ǣ*, *œ*, *ī*); *ē* (*ě*, *ǣ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō*, *ū*); *o* (*ö*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

turn distinguished as *pretonic* or *post-tonic*, according as they come before or after the tonic syllable.

§ 5. Again, a vowel, whether tonic or atonic, may be *long* or *short* by nature; thus we may have, for instance, tonic long *í* as in *amícu*, atonic long *ī* as in *dormitóriu*, and tonic short *í* as in *fíde*, or atonic short *ɪ* as in *ímáginē*.

Free and Blocked Vowels.

§ 6. Further, a vowel, according to its position, may be (1) *free*, or (2) *in hiatus*, or (3) *blocked*.

§ 7. A *free vowel* ('voyelle libre') is one followed (a) by a single consonant, e.g. *a* in *máre*, *násu*, *ámóre*, *ornáméntu*; (b) by the groups *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br* (formed by the combination of the liquid *r* with the dentals *t*, *d*, or the labials *p*, *b*), e.g. *a* in *pátre*, *cápra*, *lábra*; (c) by the group *ns*, from which *n* disappeared at an early date in popular Latin, e.g. *a* in *remá(n)su*, *e* in *mé(n)se*, *i* in *í(n)sula*, *o* in *spó(n)sa*.

§ 8. A *vowel in hiatus* is one directly followed by another vowel, e.g. *e* in *líneu*, *pálea*, *váleo*; or *i* in *pária*, *médiu*, *serviénte*, *pipióne*.

§ 9. A *blocked vowel* ('voyelle entravée') is one followed by a group of two or more consonants (other than the groups above mentioned). If the group of consonants existed in the original Latin word, the vowel is said to be blocked in *Latin position*; e.g. *párte*, *sépte*, *míttēre*, *mónstru*, *cúrsu*. If the group of consonants is one resulting from the disappearance of an atonic vowel, then the blocked vowel is said to be in *Romanic position*, e.g. (by the suppression of pretonic vowel) *sim'láre* for *sim(ũ)láre*, *bon'táte* for *bon(ĩ)táte*; (by the suppression of post-tonic vowel) *táb'la* for *táb(ũ)la*, *pón're* for *pón(ě)re*, *déb'ta* for *déb(ĩ)ta*.

[*a* (ā, ǣ); *e* (ē, ēē, ǣ, ȳ); *o* (ō, ǣ); *i* (ĩ); *o* (ō, ũ); *o* (ó); *u* (ũ); *ω* (au).]

As will be seen, this distinction between 'free' and 'blocked' vowels is one of great importance, the same vowel on passing into French being as a rule differently treated, according as it belongs to the one class or the other.

Action of the Yod.

§ 10. Besides being affected by its position as 'free' or 'blocked,' a vowel may be affected by the action of what is known as the *yod*.

This *yod*, which has the value of a consonantalised *i* (like *y* in *yacht* or *j* in German *ja*), affects consonants as well as vowels. It may originate in one of two ways, either (1) from an atonic *i* or *e* 'in hiatus' (see § 8) before *a*, *e*, *o*, or *u*, as in *pária*, *pipióne*, *médiu*, *rábie*, *glácie*, *pálea*, *váleo*, *líneu*, in which case it is called *Latin yod*; or (2) from the palatals *c* (*q*), *g*, *x* (i.e. *cs*), in which case it is called *Romanic yod*.

§ 11. *Latin yod* may act in one of three ways. Either

i. It enters into combination with and modifies the preceding tonic vowel:—

pária: paire; *básiat*: baise; *área*: aire; *bádiu*: bai; *médiu*: mi; *glória*: gloire; *naúsea*: noise; *óstiū*: huis; *córiu*: cuir.
Or

ii. It reacts upon and modifies the consonant which separates it from the tonic vowel. If this consonant be *l* or *n* it combines with and liquefies it (see §§ 291, 306):—

pálea: paille; *váleat*: vaille; *fília*: fille; *mirabilia*: merveille; *vínea*: vigne; *línea*: ligne; *tínea*: teigne.

If the preceding consonant be *c* or *t*, the *yod* combines with it to form *ç* (*ss*) or *ts* (see §§ 195. ii, 226, 227), if *d* to form *j* (soft *g*) (see § 180):—

glácie: glace; *fáciat*: fasse; **minácia*: menace; *plátea*: place; **mátea*: masse; *lectióne*: leçon; *factióne*: façon; *palátíu*: palais; *ratióne*: raison; *salatióne*: salaison; *diúrnu*: jour; *de-úsque*: jusque; *hórdea*: orge. Or

[*a* (*ā*, *ǣ*); *e* (*ē*, *æ*, *œ*, *ī*); *ē* (*ě*, *ǣ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō*, *ū*); *o* (*ō*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

- iii. If the preceding consonant be one of the labials **p**, **b**, **v**, **m**, or the nasal **n**, the *yod* becomes consonantalised into *ch* or *j* (soft *g*) (see § 180), the consonant disappearing, except in the case of the labial **m** (which becomes *n*) and the nasal **n** :—

sápiat : sache ; **ápiu** : ache ; **pipióne** : pigeon ; **rábie** : rage ;
sábiu : sage ; **tíbia** : tige ; **cambiáre** : changer ; **cávea** : cage ;
nívea : neige ; **dilúviu** : deluge ; **abbreviáre** : abrégér ; **símiu** :
 singe ; **vindémia** : vendange ; **commeátu** : congé ; **líneu** : linge ;
láneu : lange.

§ 12. *Romanic yod*, which is disengaged, under certain conditions, by the palatals **c** (**q**), **g**, **x** (**cs**), may act in several ways. Either

- i. It is resolved into *i*, which combines with or modifies the preceding tonic vowel :—

báca : baie ; **pácat** : paie ; **fáctu** : fait ; **précat** : prie ; **léctu** : lit ;
téctu : toit ; **díctu** : dit ; **nócte** : nuit ; ***cócere** (for **cóquere**) :
 cuire ; **plága** : plaie ; **mágis** : mais ; **pagé(n)se** : pays ; **négat** :
 nie ; **légit** : lit ; **légere** : lire ; **búxu** (= **buc-su**) : buis ; **láxat**
 (= **lac-sat**) : laisse ; **cóxa** (= **coc-sa**) : cuisse ; similarly **fíngere** :
 feindre ; **púngere** : poindre ; **úctu** : oint ; **páscere** : paître
 (O. F. **paistre**) ; **fásce** : faix ; &c. Or

- ii. It disengages an *i* (which reacts on the tonic vowel, whether the latter comes before or after the palatal), without being resolved, and is modified or not according to circumstances :—

(a) tonic vowel followed by the palatal :—

déce : dix ; **séx** : six ; **píce** : poix ; **víces** : fois ; **vóce** : voix ;
núce : noix ; **plácet** : plaît (O. F. **plaist**) ; **ácre** : aigre ; **mácru** :
 maigre ; **áquila** : aigle.

(b) tonic vowel preceded by the palatal :—

cáne : chien ; **cápra** : O. F. **chièvre** ; ***cápu** : O. F. **chief** ; **cálet** :

[**a** (**ā**, **ǣ**) ; **e** (**ē**, **ǣ**, **œ**, **ī**) ; **ē** (**ě**, **ǣ**) ; **i** (**ī**) ; **o** (**ō**, **ū**) ; **o** (**ö**) ; **u** (**ū**) ; **ω** (**au**).]

O. F. chielt; **mercéde**: merci; **racému**: raisin; **pullicénu**: poussin; **placére**: plaisir; **licére**: loisir; **céra**: cire.

[*Note.*—Both *Latin yod* and *Romanic yod* may also react upon the pretonic syllable, as in **ratione**: raison; **messiône**: moisson; **mélióre**: meilleur; **senióre**: seigneur; ***araneáta**: araignée; **trac-táre**: traiter; **laxáre** (=lac-sare): laisser; **placére**: plaisir; **licére**: loisir; **racému**: raisin.]

Oxyton, Paroxyton, and Proparoxyton words.

§ 13. We have seen above (§ 4) that every Latin word has one tonic syllable. This tonic syllable is either the penultimate or the antepenultimate, according to the quantity of the penultimate vowel. If the latter is long, the tonic accent falls on the penultimate, as in **amícu**, **veníre**; but if the penultimate vowel is short, the tonic accent falls on the antepenultimate as in **fábŭla**, **consuetúdĭne**.

§ 14. Words bearing the tonic accent on the penultimate are termed *paroxyton* (under which head are included all Latin words of two syllables); those bearing it on the antepenultimate are termed *proparoxyton*; while the term *oxyton* is applied to monosyllables.

Law of the Tonic Accent.

§ 15. The law of the tonic accent, which is all-important in determining the transformation of Latin words into French, is as follows:—

The vowel which bears the tonic accent in Latin invariably persists in French.

§ 16. In other words, the accented vowel of a Latin word is without exception the accented vowel in the French word derived from it. This vowel may, and often does, undergo transformation on passing into French, but it always remains unchanged as far as stress is concerned. For example, the Latin words **amícu**, **bonitáte**, **ópĕra**, become in French **ami**,

[a (ă, ă); e (ē, ē, ē, ĭ); ē (ē, ẽ); i (ī); o (ō, ŭ); o (ó); u (ū); ω (au).]

bonté, œuvre, where the tonic Latin vowels *i, á, ó*, are respectively represented by the French *i, é, œu*.

§ 17. Thus it is evident that in every French word also there is a tonic syllable, corresponding to the Latin tonic syllable. The tonic accent in French, which is less marked than in Latin, falls on the last syllable when the word ends with a masculine termination (i. e. otherwise than in so-called *e* mute), as in *venir, raison, bonté*; and on the penultimate syllable when the word has a feminine termination (i. e. in so-called *e* mute), as in *œuvre, coutume, fromage*.

Atonic and Countertonic Syllables.

§ 18. Inasmuch as the chief stress of the voice falls on the accented syllable of a word, it is obvious that the remaining syllables will receive no accent or only a secondary accent. The unaccented or atonic syllables, unlike the tonic syllable, which, as we have seen, always persists in French, under certain conditions disappear altogether; whence it comes about that the Latin word on passing into French *undergoes a shortening process*.

§ 19. The accent, in fact, divides a word into two parts, called respectively post-tonic and pretonic, according as they follow or precede the tonic syllable, each of which is subjected to fixed and distinct laws. Thus in *ma-ri-tu, consue-tú-dí-ne*, the post-tonic syllables are *-tu* and *-dí-ne*, while the pretonic syllables are *ma-* and *consue-*.

§ 20. When the pretonic part of the word consists of more than one syllable, that which receives the secondary accent (marked with a grave accent) is called the *counter-tonic* syllable, as in *cònsue-tú-dí-ne, òrna-mén-tu, dòrmi-tór-iu*.

Laws affecting Post-tonic Syllables.

§ 21. The part of the Latin word which comes after the

[*a* (á, ă); *e* (ē, ē̄, œ, ĩ); *ę* (ę, ę̄); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ó); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

tonic syllable, in passing into French, undergoes modifications in accordance with two laws.

§ 22. *The penultimate vowel of every proparoxyton Latin word¹ disappears in French:—*

búb(ă)lu: buffle; pérđ(ě)re: perdre; mób(ĭ)le: meuble;
lép(ô)re: lièvre; fáb(ŭ)la: fable.

§ 23. *The final vowel of every paroxyton² or proparoxyton Latin word—*

i. *If it be a, persists in French as so-called e mute:—*

pórta: porte; fába: fève; cáłĭda: chaude; fábŭla: fable.

ii. *If the final vowel be other than a, it disappears in French completely:—*

portáre: porter; amánte: amant; héri: hier; fěru: fier.

iii. *If the loss of the final vowel results in the formation of a group of consonants which cannot be pronounced alone, the Latin vowel is replaced in French by so-called e mute as supporting vowel³:—*

árb(ô)re: arbr-e; gén(ě)ru: gendr-e; lép(ô)re: lièvr-e; magí-stru: maîtr-e; sáb(ŭ)lu: sabl-e; mésp(ĭ)lu: nèfl-e; póp(ŭ)lu: peupl-e; as(ĭ)nu: O. F. asn-e (âne); péss(ĭ)mu: O. F. pesm-e; hóm(ĭ)ne: homm-e.

[*Note.*—The final *e* in such words as père, mère, where it is not needed as a supporting vowel, is merely a survival from the old forms:—patre: pedr-e; matre: medr-e.]

Laws affecting Pretonic Syllables.

§ 24. The pretonic part of a word may consist either of a single initial syllable, as *ve-* in *ve-níre*, *ma-* in *ma-rítu*; or, as we have seen (§ 20), of more than one syllable, as in *bòni-táte*, *òrna-méntu*, where the pretonic parts are composed of

¹ I. e. every word accented on the antepenultimate.

² I. e. accented on the penultimate.

³ *E de soutien* or *d'appui*.

[a (ă, ă); e (ē, ē, ē, ĭ); e (ě, ě); i (ī); o (ō, ŭ); o (ô); u (ū); ω (au).]

an initial syllable and a non-initial syllable, **bo-ni-**, **or-na-**, the latter of which immediately precedes the tonic syllable.

These pretonic syllables are subject to two different laws, according as they are initial or non-initial.

§ 25. *The vowel of the initial pretonic syllable, whether it immediately precedes the tonic syllable or not, invariably persists in French :—*

ve-nire: **ve-nir**; **ma-ritu**: **ma-ri**; **ca-bállu**: **che-val**; **bo-nitáte**: **bon-té**; **ma-tutínu**: **ma-tin**; **dor-mitóriu**: **dor-toir**.

[*Note*.—**Se-cúru**: **sûr**, **ma-túru**: **mûr**, **vi-dére**: **voir**, ***aet-áticu**: **âge**, and the like, are only apparent exceptions to the above rule, these forms being contractions of the O.F. forms, **sě-ur**, **mě-ur**, **vě-oir**, **ě-age**.]

§ 26. *The vowel, whether long or short, of the non-initial pretonic syllable immediately preceding the tonic syllable disappears in French, except in the case of a, which persists as so-called e mute :—*

i. **opě-ráriu**: **ouvrier**; **bo-nĩ-táte**: **bonté**; **col-lő-cáre**: **coucher**; **tre-mũ-láre**: **trembler**; **ve-rě-cúndia**: **vergogne**; **dor-mĩ-tóriu**: **dortoir**; **Vic-to-riácu**: **Vitry**; **man-dũ-cáre**: **manger**.

ii. **or-nā-méntu**: **ornement**; **si-nā-pátu**: **senevé**; **or-phā-nínu**: **orphelin**; **Al-ă-mánia**: **Allemagne**.

[*Note*.—Here again such forms as **can-tā-tóre**: **chanteur**, **ar-mā-túra**: **armure**, **sa-orā-méntu**: **serment**, **al-ă-bástru**: **albâtre**, are only apparent exceptions, the O.F. forms having been **chantě-or**, **armě-ure**, **saire-ment**, **ale-bastre**.]

§ 27. In certain cases, however, this vowel (other than **a**) persists (generally as so-called *e* mute), instead of disappearing—

i. When it is preceded by a group of consonants which require a supporting vowel :—

[**a** (ā, ǣ); **e** (ē, ē̄, ē̅, ĩ); **ę** (ě, ǽ); **i** (ī); **o** (ō, ū); **o** (ǫ); **u** (ū); **ω** (au).]

quad-rí-fúr-cu: carr-e-four; **tur-tŭ-rélla**: tourt-e-elle; ***pe-trō-séliu**: O. F. perr-e-sil (persil); **la-trō-cíniu**: O. F. larr-e-cin (larcin).

ii. When it is followed by a group of consonants:—

per-e-grínu: pèlerin; **ju-ven-céllu**: jouvenceau; **gu-ber-náre**: gouverner; **sus-pec-tióne**: O. F. souspeçon (soupçon).

iii. When it is followed by a consonant and an i in hiatus

before the tonic syllable (in which case it persists as *i*):—

pa-pi-lióne: pavillon; ***cam-pi-nióne**: champignon; ***quad-ri-lióne**: carillon.

Persistence of vowel of Tonic Syllable and of Initial Syllable.

§ 28. It results from what has been stated above that in two cases only do the vowels of the Latin word invariably persist in French; viz. the vowel of the tonic syllable, and the vowel of the initial syllable.

On passing from Latin into French these vowels undergo various modifications, the nature of which will be explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Classical Latin and Romanic Vowels.

§ 29. In Classical Latin the vowel-system was based on distinctions of quantity, each vowel being *long* or *short* according to the space of time occupied in its pronunciation. Thus the Classical Latin vowels were ten in number, viz. **ā, ă; ē, ě; ī, ĭ; ō, ȝ; ū, ŭ.** In the Popular Latin or Romanic¹ these ten vowels were reduced to seven, Classical **ā, ă**, being represented by Romanic **a**; Classical **ē, ĭ**, by

¹ *Romanic* is a term conveniently applied to the *popular Latin*, which was the immediate source of the several Romance languages.

[**a** (**ā, ă**); **e** (**ē, ē̄, ē̅, ĭ**); **o** (**ō, ȝ**); **i** (**ī**); **u** (**ū**); **ω** (**au**).]

Romanic *ə* (closed *e*); Classical *ō*, *ū*, by Romanic *o* 'closed *o*'. The Classical Latin diphthong *œ* was treated as *ē* (represented by Romanic *ē*); Classical *æ* was treated sometimes as *ē*, sometimes as *ě* (represented by Romanic *ē*); Classical *au* is represented by Romanic *ω*.

§ 30. The correspondence between the Classical Latin vowels and their Romanic equivalents is represented in the following table :—

<i>Classical ā, ǣ</i>	<i>Romanic a</i>
• <i>Classical ē, (œ), (æ), ȳ</i>	<i>Romanic ɛ</i> (closed <i>e</i>)
<i>Classical ĕ, (ǣ)</i>	<i>Romanic ɛ</i> (open <i>e</i>)
<i>Classical ī</i>	<i>Romanic i</i>
<i>Classical ō, ū</i>	<i>Romanic o</i> (closed <i>o</i>)
<i>Classical ɔ</i>	<i>Romanic o</i> (open <i>o</i>)
<i>Classical ū</i>	<i>Romanic u</i>
<i>Classical au</i>	<i>Romanic ω</i> .

We shall now proceed first to study the modifications undergone by the several popular Latin or Romanic vowels in their passage into French, according to the various influences to which they have been exposed. Next we shall reverse the process and examine the origin of the French vowels and vowel-groups, tracing their descent from the popular Latin. This done we shall study the history of the consonants of each language in the same way.

ROMANIC VOWELS.

A.

[Classical Latin *ā, ǣ* : Romanic *a*.]

TONIC A.

§ 31. Tonic *a* free becomes *e* in French (*ɛ*, when final or followed by consonant which is not sounded; *ɛ*, before consonant which is sounded):—

[*a* (*ā, ǣ*); *ɛ* (*ē, æ, œ, ȳ*); *ɛ* (*ĕ, ǣ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō, ū*); *o* (*ɔ*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

(ǎ) *bonitate*: *bonté*; *cantare*: *chanter*; *nasu*: *nez*; *tale*: *tel*; *clave*: *clef*; (ǎ) *mare*: *mer*; *sal*: *sel*; *ad-satis*: *assez*; *patre*: *père*; *faba*: *fève*.

[*Note.*—i. Tonic *a* free persists in certain cases before *l*:—(ǎ) *legale*: *loyal*; *aequale*: *égal*; *regale*: *royal*; (ǎ) *malu*: *mal*.—ii. In a few cases *ai* has been substituted in mod. French for *e*:—(ǎ) *ala*: *aîle* (O. F. *ele*); *claru*: *clair* (O. F. *cler*); (ǎ) *pare*: *pair* (O. F. *per*).—iii. An exceptional transformation has taken place in the case of *ǎvu* in *clavu*: *clou*; *Andegavu*: *Anjou*; *Pictavu*: *Poitou*.—iv. Another exceptional change is that of the suffix *-ǎre* into *-ier*, instead of *-er*:—*singulare*: *sanglier*; *scholare*: *écolier*; this change is probably due to the influence of forms in *-ǎriu* (see § 34, i. n.).]

§ 32. Tonic *a* free before nasal disengages an *i* in French, with which it unites to form the diphthong *ai* (*âi* when nasal is final):—

(ǎ) *damu*: *daîm*; *stamen*: *étaîm*; *examen*: *essaîm*; *sanu*: *sain*; *pane*: *pain*; *mundanu*: *mondain*; *lana*: *laine*; *septimana*: *semaine*; (ǎ) *fame*: *faîm*; *manu*: *main*; *de-mane*: *demain*; *amas*: *aimes*.

[*Note.*—In (ǎ) *paganu*, *decanu*, *ligamen*, (ǎ) *cane*, the *yod* disengaged by the palatals *c*, *g*, combined with *ai* (produced by *ǎ* free before nasal) to form the triphthong *iai*:—(ǎ) *ligamen*: *liaîn*; (ǎ) *cane*: *chiaîn*; &c. But at an early date, by the substitution of *e* for *ai* (see § 31, note ii), the group *-iaîn* was reduced to *-ien*, whence *lien*, *chien*, &c. The same process took place in (ǎ) **antianu*: *ancien*, *christianu*: *chrétien*, in which *yod* was produced by *i* in hiatus.]

§ 33. Tonic *a* blocked remains unchanged in French:—

(ǎ) *flamma*: *flamme*; *caballu*: *cheval*; *cattu*: *chat*; *pastor*: *pâtre*; (ǎ) *parte*: *part*; *grande*: *grand*; *an(i)ma*: *âme*; *cam(e)ra*: *chambre*; *as(i)nu*: *âne*.

[*Note.*—When *ǎ* is blocked before *l* followed by another consonant, the *l* becoming vocalised (see § 289) combines with *a* to form the diphthong *au* in French:—*salvu*: *sauf*; *palmu*: *pauve*; *alba*: *aube*; *talpa*: *taupe*; *cal(i)du*: *chaud*; *alt(e)ru*: *autre*.]

[*a* (ǎ, ǎ); *e* (ē, ēē, ōē, ī); *ę* (ě, ę); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ǫ); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

§ 34. Tonic **a** followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *ai* in French :—

i. With Latin *yod* :—

(*á*) **palatiu** : *palais* ; **major** : *maire* ; **maiu** : *mai* ; (*á*) **badiu** : *bai* ; **variū** : *vair* ; **paria** : *paire* ; **area** : *aire* ; **habeas** : *aies* ; **basias** : *baíses*.

[*Note*.—The suffixes *-áriu*, *-ária*, by a transformation peculiar to themselves, become not *-air*, *-aire*, but *-ier*, *ière* in French :—**primariu** : *premier* ; **caballariu** : *chevalier* ; **caldaria** : *chaudière* ; **riparia** : *rivière*. The forms *contraire*, *primaire*, *adversaire* (O. F. *aversier*), and the like, are of learned origin.]

ii. With Romanic *yod* :—

(*á*) **pace** : *paix* ; **nidace** : *niais* ; **plaga** : *plaie* ; **Cameracu** : *Cambrai* ; **Duacu** : *Douai* ; **laxat** : *laisse* ; **pascere** : *paistre* ; **planctu** : *plaint* ; (*á*) **magis** : *mais* ; **ossifraga** : *orfraie* ; **acre** : *aigre* ; **facere** : *faire* ; **lacte** : *lait* ; **plang(e)re** : *plaindre* ; **sanctu** : *saint*.

iii. When separated from *yod* by a consonant upon which the *yod* reacts, or which admits of the consonantalisation of the *yod* (see § 11, iii), the *á* becoming blocked remains unchanged according to rule (see above, § 33) :—

(*á*) **tremac(u)lu** : *tramail* ; **quac(o)la** : *caille* ; **muralia** : *muraille* ; (*á*) ***matea** : *masse* ; **platea** : *place* ; **facie** : *face* ; **faciam** : *fasse* ; ***trepaliu** : *travail* ; **palea** : *paille* ; **campania** : *campagne* ; **Alamannia** : *Allemagne* ; **sapiam** : *sache* ; **rabie** : *rage* ; **cavea** : *cage*.

[*Note*.—In such cases as *travail*, *tramail*, *caille*, *muraille*, *paille*, &c. the *i* belongs to the liquified *l*, and must not be regarded as forming diphthong with the *a*.]

§ 35. Tonic **a** free preceded by *yod* becomes *ie* in French :—

i. With Latin *yod* :—

(*á*) **medietate** : *moitié* ; **pietate** : *pitie*.

[**a** (*ā*, *ǣ*) ; **e** (*ē*, *ǣ*, *œ*, *ī*) ; **ę** (*ě*, *ǣ*) ; **i** (*ī*) ; **o** (*ō*, *ū*) ; **ę** (*ő*) ; **u** (*ū*) ; **ω** (*au*).]

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

(ǎ) *amicitate: amitié; renegatu: renié; (ǎ) cane: chien.

[*Note*.—This *ie*, which was the regular development of *ǎ* preceded by the palatal *o* in O.F. (*mercātu*: *marchié*; *cǎpra*: *chèvre*; **cǎpu*: *chief*), has for the most part been reduced to *e* in Mod. French (*marché, chèvre, chef*). It still survives in a few cases besides *chien*, e.g. (ǎ) *decanu*: *doyen* (i.e. *doi-ien*); *pacare*: *payer* (i.e. *pai-ier*); *necare*: *noyer* (i.e. *noi-ier*), &c., the *y* in these forms representing *ii*.]

§ 36. Tonic *a* between two *yods* becomes *i* (*y*) in French:—

(ǎ) *Clipiacu*: *Clichy*; *Floriacu*: *Fleury*; *Latiniacu*: *Lagny*; *Victoriacu*: *Vitry*; (ǎ) *jacet*: *gît*; *jacita*: *gîte*.

ATONIC A.

§ 37. Atonic *a*, final or counterfinal¹ becomes *e* (so-called mute) in French:—

i. Final:—

pórta: *porte*; *bóna*: *bonne*; *illa*: *elle*; *amára*: *amère*; *amata*: *aimée*.

ii. Counterfinal:—

òrnā-méntu: *orne-ment*; *snā-pátu*: *sene-vé*; *Ală-mánnia*: *Alle-magne*; *òrphă-nínu*: *orphe-lin*; *pèrgă-ménu*: *parche-min*.

[*Note*.—This *e* was originally present in such words as *chanteur*, *empereur*, *trouveur*, *armure*, *serment*, *albâtre*, &c. which are only apparent exceptions to the rule (see § 26 *note*).]

PRETONIC A.

§ 38. Pretonic initial *a* remains, as a rule, unchanged in French, whether free or blocked:—

¹ I.e. the *a* which follows the counter-tonic syllable, the syllable which receives the secondary accent (see § 20).

[*a* (ǎ, ǎ); *e* (ē, æ, œ, ɛ); *e* (ě, ǽ); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ó); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

i. Free, (ā) **panáriu** : panier ; (ǣ) **marítu** : mari ; **habére** : avoir ; **amánte** : amant.

ii. Blocked, (ā) **pastúra** : pâture ; (ǣ) **cantáre** : chanter ; **martéllu** : marteau ;

[*Note*.—When blocked before *l* followed by another consonant, the *l* becoming vocalised, combines with *a* to form the diphthong *au*, as in case of tonic *a* under the same circumstances (see § 33 *n.*) :—**salváticu** : *sauvage* ; **mal(e)dicere** : *maudire* ; **mal(e)sépidu** : *maussade*.]

but it has a tendency to become weakened to *e* :—

(ā) **granáriu** : grenier ; **ranúncula** : grenouille ; (ǣ) **graváre** : grever ; **captívu** : chétif ; **armínia** : hermine.

[*Note*.—i. This *a* in a few rare cases becomes *o* in French (see § 122).
ii. In the case of *aimer*, *aimons*, *aimez*, from *āmāre*, *āmāmus*, *āmātis*, an analogical change has taken place due to such forms as *aime* from *āmat* (see §§ 3, 32)]

§ 39. Pretonic initial *a* preceded by *c*

i. If free, becomes *e*, the *c* becoming *ch* :—

(ā) **canútu** : chenu ; (ǣ) **cabállu** : cheval ; **canále** : chenai ; **capístru** : chevêtre ; **capíllu** : cheveu.

ii. If blocked, or followed by *l* or *r*, it remains unchanged according to rule, *c* in this case also becoming *ch* :—

(ǣ) **castéllu** : château ; **cantáre** : chanter ; **campánia** : champagne ; **calóre** : chaleur ; ***carónia** : charogne.

§ 40. Pretonic *a* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *ai* in French :—

i. With Latin *yod* :—

(ā) **salatióne** : salaison ; ***araneáta** : araignée ; (ǣ) **ratione** : raison ; **adjutáre** : aider.

ii. With Romanic *yod* :—

(ǣ) **tractáre** : traîner ; **axílla** : aisselle ; **laxáre** : laisser ; **pacáre** : payer (i. e. *pai-ier*) ; (ǣ) **placére** : plaisir ; **racému** : raisin.

[*a* (ā, ǣ) ; *e* (ē, ēē, ēē, ī) ; *ǣ* (ǣ, ǣē) ; *i* (ī) ; *o* (ō, ū) ; *o* (ō) ; *u* (ū) ; *au* (au).]

E.

[Classical Latin ē, (ē), (ē), ɪ: Romanic e (closed e).

Classical Latin ĕ, (ĕ): Romanic e (open e)].

TONIC E (CLOSED E).

§ 41. Tonic e free becomes *oi* in French:—

(é) **habere**: avoir; **mē**: moi; **mese** (**mense**): mois; **seta**: soie; **vela**: voile; (ē) **prēda**: proie; (í) **pēlu**: poil; **fēde**: foi; **pēsu**: pois; **vēa**: voie; **pēra**: poire.

§ 42. Tonic e free before nasal becomes *ei* (ē if the nasal is final) in French:—

(é) **frēnu**: frein; **serēnu**: serein; **Rēmos**: Reims; **vēna**: veine; (ē) **pēna**: peine; (ē) **balēna**: baleine; (í) **sēnu**: sein.

[*Note*.—i. In (é) **fēnu**: foin, **avēna**: avoine, (í) **mēnus**: moins, **mēnor**: moindre, free tonic e has followed the regular development. —ii. In **pergamēnu**: parchemin, **venēnu**: venin, **vervēcē**: brebis, **tapētū**: tapis, **tenēre**: tenir, &c. the change from ē to ī had already taken place in popular Latin.—iii. In **racēnu**: raisin, **pullicēnu**: poussin, the *i* is due to the *yod* disengaged by the palatal o (see § 46).—iv. The form **terrāin** from **terrēnu** is an alteration of **terrēin** (which also occurs) due to the analogy of words in *-ain* from *-ānu*, such as *romain*, *mondain*, &c.]

§ 43. Tonic e blocked remains e in French:—

(é) **vendere**: vendre; **sensu**: sens; **fēm(i)na**: femme; (í) **verga**: verge; **ella**: elle; **capestru**: chevêtre; **cēn(e)re**: cendre; **ver(i)de**: vert; **mētere**: mettre; **consēlju** (**consiliu**): conseil; **merabelja** (**mirabilia**): merveille (see § 45).

[*Note*.—i. The change **-itia**: **-esse** in **pigritia**: paresse, **justitia**: justesse, &c. is accounted for by this rule, the *i* being blocked owing to the combination of Latin *yod* with *t*. *Justice*, *vice*, *service*, &c. are of learned origin.—ii. *Étoile* comes not from **stēlla** but from ***stēla**.]

[a (ā, ǣ); e (ē, ē, ĕ, ɪ); e (ē, ǣ); i (ī); o (ō, ū); o (ó); u (ū); u (au).]

§ 44. Tonic *ę* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *oi* in French:—

(*é*) *rege*: *roi*; *lege*: *loi*; *tęctu*: *toit*; *creſcere*: *croître*;
(*í*) *pece*: *poix*; *vece*: *fois*; *negru*: *noir*; *cerveſia*: *cervoise*;
correġia: *courroie*; *estrectu* (*strictu*): *étroit*; *deġ(i)tu*;
doiġt; *freġ(i)du* (for *frigidu*): *froid*.

[*Note*.—For *-itia*: *-esse* (in *justesse, tristesse, &c.*) see § 43, *n. i.*]

§ 45. Tonic *ę* followed by *yod* and *l, n*, remains *ę* in French, the vowel becoming blocked (cf. § 43) owing to the consonantalisation of *yod*, while *l, n*, are liquefied:—

(*í*) *conſeliu*: *conseil*; *mirabeġia*: *merveille*; *teġnea*: *teigne*;
soleġlu: *soleil*; *aureġla*: *oreille*; *enſeġna* (*insignia*): *en-*
seigne; &c.

[*Note*.—The *i* in these words (*conseil, teigne, &c.*) belongs to the liquefied *l, n*, and must not be regarded as forming diphthong with the *ę*; cf. § 34, *iii. note.*]

§ 46. Tonic *ę* free preceded by palatal (*c, g*, which disengage *yod*) becomes *i* in French:—

(*é*) *ceġa*: *cire*; *merceġe*: *merci*; *racemu*: *raisin*; *pullicenu*:
poussin; *placere*: *plaisir*; *licere*: *loisir*; *pageſe* (*pagense*):
pays (O. F. *païs*).

PRETONIC *Ę*.

§ 47. Pretonic *ę* becomes *e* in French:—

(*ē*) *deġbere*: *devoir*; *peſare* (*pensare*): *pèser*; *deſiderare*:
désirer; *deſertu*: *désert*; (*í*) *menútu*: *menu*; *peġlare*: *peler*;
vertúte: *vertu*; *feġmare*: *fermer*.

[*Note*.—Pretonic *ę* frequently becomes *a* in French:—(*ā*) *glenare*:
glaner; *zeġoſu*: *jaloux*; (*í*) *beġancia*: *balance*; *peġritia*: *paresse*;
seġgulare: *sanglier*; *seġvaticu*: *sauvage*. In many of these cases
a is a substitution for an earlier *e*, as in O. F. *peresse, senglier, &c.*]

§ 48. Pretonic *ę* combined with *yod* forms the diphthong *oi* (*oy*) in French:—

[*a* (*ā, ă*); *ę* (*ē, æ, œ, ý*); *ę* (*ě, ǣ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō, ū*); *o* (*ö*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

(ē) *tectūra*: *toiture*; *creſcēnte*: *croissant*; *regāle*: *royal*;
 (ī) *lecere*: *loisir*; *plecare*: *ployer*; **peſcione*: *poisson*;
 **cupedietare*: *convoiter*.

TONIC *Ē* (OPEN *E*).

§ 49. Tonic *ē* free becomes *ie* in French:—

(ē) *heri*: *hier*; *fel*: *fiel*; *peðe*: *pied*; *greve* (for *grāve*):
grief; *febre*: *fièvre*; *petra*: *pierre*; *lep(o)re*: *lièvre*; (ǣ)
celu: *ciel*; *seclu*: *siècle*.

[*Note*.—Latin *pēr* becomes *par* in French owing to the fact that it was used as a proclitic, and hence was treated as atonic; cf. *mērcātu*: *marché* (see § 53, *n. i.*).]

§ 50. Tonic *ē* free before nasal becomes *ie* (*iē* if nasal is final) in French:—

bene: *bien*; *rem*: *rien*; *tenet*: *tient*; *venit*: *vient*.

§ 51. Tonic *ē* followed by *yod* becomes *i* in French:—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

mediu: *mi*; *pretiu*: *prix*; *imperiū*: *empire*; *peior* (for
pēior): *pire*; *peius* (for *pėjus*): *pis*; *ecclesia* (for *ecclēsia*):
église; *ceresia* (for *cerāsiu*): *cerise*; *ebriu* (for *ébriu*): *ivre*.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

decem: *dix*; *sex*: *six*; *precat*: *prie*; *negat*: *nie*; *legit*:
lît; *lectu*: *lît*; *pectus*: *pis*; *perfectu*: O. F. *parfit*.

[*Note*.—i. *Matière* from *matéria* is of learned origin.—ii. When the *ē* is followed by *l* or *n* as well as by *yod*, the former become liquified, and *ē* follows the regular development into *ie*; e.g. *mēlius*: *mieux* (O. F. *miels*); *veniam*: *vienne* (O. F. *viegne*); *teneam*: *tienne* (O. F. *tiegne*).]

§ 52. Tonic *ē* blocked

i. In Latin position persists in French:—

ferru: *fer*; *bella*: *belle*; *desertu*: *désert*; *infernu*: *enfer*;
septe: *sept*; *testa*: *tête*.

[*Note*.—The termination *-ēllu* becomes *-eau* in French by a change peculiar to itself (see § 161, *n. i.*).]

[*a* (ā, ǣ); *ē* (ē, ēē, ǣ, ī); *ē* (ē, ǣ); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ō); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

ii. In Romanic position becomes *ie* in French:—
təp(i)du: *tiède*; **əb(u)lu**: *humble*; **pəd(i)ca**: *piège*; **antəph(o)na**: *antienne*.

[*Note*.—Tonic **ə** blocked in Romanic position sometimes persists in French:—**mər(u)lu**: *merle*; **tən(e)ru**: *tendre*; **gən(e)ru**: *gendre*.]

PRETONIC **ɛ**.

§ 53. Pretonic **ɛ** becomes *e* in French:—
ləváre: *lever*; **əpiscopu**: *évêque*; **pərdənte**: *perdant*; **vənire**: *venir*.

[*Note*.—i. As in the case of pretonic **ə** (see § 47 *n.*), pretonic **ɛ** frequently becomes *a* in French:—**mərcau**: *marché*; **trəmáculu**: *travail*; **pərvenire**: *parvenir*; **pərgamənu**: *parchemin*; **dəlfín(u)**: O.F. *dalfin* (dauphin).—ii. Such forms as **viendrai** (**vénire-hábeo**), **tiendrai** (**ténere-hábeo**) are due to the analogy of *vient* (**vénit**), *tient* (**ténet**); see § 3.]

§ 54. Pretonic **ɛ** combined with *yod* forms the diphthong *oi* in French:—
məssióne: *moisson*; **mədíánu**: *moyen*; **mədietátə**: *moitié*; **nəcáre**: *noyer*; **vəctúra**: *voiture*.

§ 55. Pretonic **ɛ** under the influence of *yod* sometimes becomes *i* in French:—
(ě) ləóne: *lion*; **əbórea**: *ivoire*; **(ǣ) lətítia**: *llesse*; **pəónia**: *pivoine*; **cəméntu**: *ciment*; **(ě) əcce-híc**: *ici*; **əxúta**: *issue*.

I.

[Classical Latin **i**: Romanic **i**.]

TONIC I.

§ 56. Tonic **i** remains unchanged in French, whether free, blocked, before nasal, or under the influence of *yod*:—

i. Free, **vita**: *vie*; **nídu**: *nid*; **venire**: *venir*; **líbra**: *livre*.

[**a** (**ā**, **ǣ**); **ə** (**ē**, **ǣ**, **œ**, **ī**); **ɛ** (**ě**, **ǣ**); **i** (**ī**); **ɔ** (**ō**, **ū**); **ɔ** (**ǫ**); **u** (**ū**); **ω** (**au**).]

- ii. Blocked, *scríptu* : *écrit* ; *mílle* : *míl* ; *trístē* : *triste*.
- iii. Before nasal, *spína* : *épine* ; *líma* : *líme* (if the nasal be final *i* becomes *ī*, *fíne* : *fín* ; *pínu* : *pín* ; *línu* : *lín* ; *vínu* : *vín*).
- iv. (a) With Latin *yod*, *suspíriu* : *soupír* ; *fília* : *fille* ; *vínea* : *vigne* ; *línea* : *ligne*.
 (b) With Romanic *yod*, *beníguu* : *bénín* ; *díctu* : *dít* ; *perí(u)lu* : *péríl* ; *spícu* : *épi* ; *amícu* : *ami*.

PRETONIC I.

§ 57. Pretonic *i* as a rule remains unchanged in French :—
ripária : *rivière* ; *hibérnu* : *hiver* ; *vivénte* : *vivant* ; *villánu* : *vîlain*.

§ 58. But when followed by tonic *i* it is weakened to *e* :—
divínu : *devin* ; **pittítu* : *petit* ; *divísat* : *devise*.

[*Note*.—This weakening of pretonic *i* to *e* takes place also in certain other cases :—*primáriu* : *premier* ; *dílúviu* : *déluge* ; *mirabília* : *merveille*.]

O.

[Classical Latin *ō*, *ū* : Romanic *o* (closed o).]

Classical Latin *o* : Romanic *o* (open o).]

TONIC O (CLOSED O).

§ 59. Tonic *o* free becomes *eu* (*œu*) in French :—
 (ó) *flōre* : *fleur* ; *sōlu* : *seul* ; *hōra* : *heure* ; *oṽu* : *œuf* ; *voṽu* : *vœu* ; *mōres* : *mœurs* ; *neṽōte* : *neveu* ; *colōre* : *couleur* ; (ú) *gōla* : *gueule* ; *jōvene* : *jeune* ; *colōbra* : *couleuvre*.

[*Note*.—i. *Amóre* : *amour*, is due to the influence of *amoureux*.—
 ii. *Lūpu* : *loup*, is exceptional ; the O.F. form *leu* was regular.—
 iii. *Spó(n)su* : *époux* and *spó(n)sa* : *épouse*, are due to the influence of *spó(n)sáre* : *épouser* (see § 65, i.).—iv. *Pró* : *pour*, *nós* : *nous*, *vós* : *vous*, *ūbi* : *où*, are due to the fact that they were used as proclitics, and hence became atonic (see § 65).]

[*a* (ā, ǣ) ; *e* (ē, ǣ, ǣ, ȳ) ; *o* (ō, ō) ; *i* (ī) ; *o* (ō, ū) ; *o* (ō) ; *u* (ū) ; *u* (au).]

§ 60. Tonic *o* free before nasal becomes *o* (*ô* if the nasal is final) in French:—

(*ô*) *corona*: couronne; *poma*: pomme; *latrone*: larron; *nomēn*: nom; *leone*: lion; *non*: non; (*û*) *somus*: sommes.

§ 61. Tonic *o* blocked becomes *ou* in French:—

(*ô*) *corte* (for *cohorte*): cour; *cop(u)la*: couple; *cōs(e)re* (for *consuere*): coudre; **tōttu* (for *tōtu*): tout; (*û*) *orsu*: ours; *bōlla*: boule; *gōstu*: goût; *cōrtu*: court; *bōcca*: bouche; *fōrnu*: four; *tōrre*: tour; *cōb(i)tu*: coude; *gōtta*: goutte.

§ 62. Tonic *o* blocked before nasal becomes *ō* in French:—

(*ô*) *pōnte*: pont; *mōnte*: mont; *pōn(e)re*: pondre; (*û*) *rōmp(e)re*: rompre; *ōmbra*: ombre; *sōmma*: somme; *mōn-du*: monde; *nōm(e)ru*: nombre; *ōndecim*: onze; *cucō-m(e)re*: concombre; *pōm(i)ce*: ponce; *jōneu*: jonc; *trōneu*: tronc; *ōngla* (*ungula*): ongle.

§ 63. Tonic *o* in combination with *yod* forms the diphthong *oi* in French:—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

(*ô*) *glōria*: gloire; **cōfea*: coiffe; *paeōnia*: pivoine; *dormi-tōriu*: dortoir; *testimōniu*: témoin; **cotōneu*: coing; (*û*) *cōneu*: coin; *angōstia*: angoisse.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

(*ô*) *vōce*: voix; *bōscu*: bois; *cognōscere*: O. F. *conoistre* (connaître); (*û*) *crōce*: croix; *nōce*: noix; **bōx(i)da* (for *pyxida*): boîte.

[*Note*.—In the termination *-ūc(u)lu*, where tonic *o* is followed by *yod* and *l*, the latter becomes liquified in French, while the *o* being blocked regularly becomes *ou* (see § 61):—*fēnuo(u)lu*: fenouil; *ranu(n)e(u)la*: grenouille; *conuo(u)la*: quenouille. The forms *genou*, *pou*, *verrou* are shortened from *genouil* (*genuo(u)lu*), *pouil*, (*peduo(u)lu*), *verrouil* (*veruo(u)lu*), as appears from the derivatives *agenouiller*, *pouilleux*, *verrouiller*.]

[*a* (*ā*, *ǣ*); *e* (*ē*, *ǣ*, *œ*, *ī*); *ē* (*ě*, *ǣ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō*, *ū*); *o* (*ô*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

§ 64. Tonic *o* followed by *yod* and nasal—

i. When the nasal is followed by a vowel, *o* becomes *o* in French, the *n* being liquefied :—

(*ô*) *cicônia*: *cigogne*; **carônia*: *charogne*; *Bonônia*: *Boulogne*; (*ũ*) *verecônia*: *vergogne*; *Burgônia*: *Bourgogne*.

ii. When the nasal is final, or followed by another consonant, *o* combines with *yod* to form the diphthong *oi* in French, the *n* being liquefied :—

(*ô*) *testimoniũ*: *témoïn*; **cotoneu*: *coïng*; (*ũ*) *cõneu*: *coïn*; *õnetu*: *oint*; *põnetu*: *point*; *põgnu*: *poïng*; *jõng(e)re*: *joindre*; *põng(e)re*: *poindre*.

PRETONIC O.

§ 65. Pretonic *o*, whether free or blocked, becomes *ou* in French :—

i. Free :—

(*ô*) *sposáre* (*sponsare*): *épouser*; *nođáre*: *nouer*; *solátiu*: *soulas*; (*ũ*) *sobínde*: *souvent*; *ořbáre*: *couver*; *nořrĩre*: *nourrir*; *gořbernáre*: *gouverner*; *Icõlisma*: *Angoulême*.

ii. Blocked :—

(*ô*) *cortẽse*: *courtois*; *cõstáre* (*constare*): *coũter*; *cõrrĩgia*: *courroie*; *cõsobrĩnu* (*consobrĩnu*): *cousin*; *Cõstantias* (*Constantias*): *Contances*; (*ũ*) *dořláre*: *doubler*; *cõrrẽte*: *courant*; *cõrváre*: *courber*; *sõbvenĩre*: *souvenir*; **sõb(i)tánu*: *soudain*; *bõrdõne*: *bourdon*; *dořb(i)táre*: *douter*; **pollánu*: *poulain*.

[*Note*.—In a few cases pretonic *o* is weakened to *e* in French :—*sũbmõn(e)re*: *semondre*; *sũccurrĩre*: *secourir*; *sũblõngu*: *selon*.]

§ 66. Pretonic *o* followed by nasal becomes *o* in French :—

(*ô*) *románu*: *romain*; *doņáre*: *donner*; *noř(i)náre*: *nommer*; (*ũ*) *moņdánu*: *mondain*; *õnguẽntu*: *onguent*; *sõřmáre*: *sommer*; **řromẽntu* (for *řrũ-*): *froment*.

[*a* (*ā, ǣ*); *e* (*ē, æ, œ, ĩ*); *ę* (*ě, œ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō, ũ*); *o* (*ö*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

§ 67. Pretonic *o* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *oi* (*oy*) in French:—

(ō) *poťiōne*: *poison*; *ťosiōne* (*tonsione*): *toison*; **cloťiōne*: *cloison*; *oťiōsu*: *oiseux*; (ũ) *ťosiōne* (for *fũ*-): *foison*; *oniōne* (for *ũni*-): *oignon*; **ťroťtiāre*: *froisser*; *noťāle*: *noyau*; **noťāriu*: *noyer*; *moťēre* (for *mũcere*): *moisir*.

TONIC *o* (OPEN *o*).

§ 68. Tonic *o* free becomes *eu* (*œu*) in French:—

noťu: *neuf*; *boťve*: *bœuf*; **moťrit*: *meurt*; *coťr*: *cœur*; *coťquus*: *queux*; *soťror*: *sœur*; *moťla*: *meule*; *proťba*: *preuve*; *oťpera*: *œuvre*; *linteoťlu*: *linceul*; *aviťlu*: *aïeul*; *gladiťlu*: *glaiêul*; *fliťlu*: *filieul*; **bovariťlu*: *bouvrenil*; *capreoťlu*: *chevreuil*.

[*Note*.—In the suffixes *-eoťlu*, *-iťlu*, the *l* becomes liquified in French, *-eul*, *-eul*.]

§ 69. Tonic *o* free before nasal persists in French, becoming *o* when the nasal is final:—

boťna: *bonne*; *soťnat*: *sonne*; *boťnu*: *bon*; *hoťmo*: *on*.

§ 70. Tonic *o* blocked persists in French:—

coťpus: *corps*; *coťllu*: *col*; *poťta*: *porte*; *coťsta*: *côte*; *hoťm(i)ne*: *homme*; *coťm(i)te*: *comte*; *coťph(i)nu*: *coffre*; *poťs(i)ta*: *poste*.

[*Note*.—Tonic *o* blocked before vocalised *l* becomes *ou* in French:—*moťl(e)re*: *moudre*; *absoťl(ve)re*: *absoudre* (see § 289).]

§ 71. Tonic *o* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *ui*:—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

coťriu: *cuir*; *moťdiu*: *muid*; *hoťdie*: *hui* (in *aujourd'hui*); *in-oťdio*: *ennui*; *poťdiu*: *Puy*; *oťstrea*: *huître*; *troťja* (*troja*): *truie*; *plōťvia* (*plō-* for *plũ-*): *pluie*; *coťpreu* (*cō-* for *cũ-*): *cuivre*; *poťteu* (*pō-* for *pũ-*): *puits*.

a (ā, ǣ); **e** (ē, ǣ, ǣ, ĩ); **ę** (ě, ǣ); **i** (ī); **o** (ō, ũ); **o** (ö); **u** (ū); **ω** (au).]

ii. With Romanic *yod* :—

q̄o(e)re: *nuire*; **q̄o(e)re* (for *cóquere*): *cuire*; *q̄oxa*: *cuisse*;
q̄eto: *huit*; *nq̄eto*: *nuit*.

§ 72. Tonic *q̄* followed by *l* and *yod* becomes *eu* in French, like free tonic *q̄*, the *l* being liquefied :—

f̄olia: *feuille*; *d̄oliu*: *deuil*; *s̄oliu*: *seuil*; *q̄o(u)lu*: *œil* (O. F. uel); **tr̄oq̄(u)lu* (for *tórculu*): *treuil*.

[*Note*.—An exception is *q̄lea*: *huile*, in which *q̄* combines with the *yod* (see § 71) without liquefying the *l*.]

PRETONIC Q.

§ 73. Pretonic *q̄* free becomes *ou* in French :—

q̄oróna: *couronne*; *m̄q̄vére*: *mouvoir*; *q̄olóre*: *couleur*;
s̄olére: *souloir*; *m̄q̄línu*: *moulin*; *b̄q̄váriu*: *bouvier*.

§ 74. Pretonic *q̄* blocked persists in French :—

q̄ortáre: *porter*; *d̄ormíre*: *dormir*; *m̄q̄rtále*: *mortel*;
h̄ospitále: *hôtel*.

§ 75. Pretonic *q̄* followed by nasal persists in French :—

s̄qnáre: *sonner*; *v̄qmíre*: *vomir*; *m̄q̄néta*: *monnaie*.

§ 76. Pretonic *q̄* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *oi* (*oy*) in French :—

f̄q̄cáriu: *foyer*; **l̄q̄cáriu*: *loyer*; **jq̄cále*: *joyau*.

[*Note*.—The forms *cuisson*, *cuisant*, *cuisine*, from *cōctiōne*, **cōcēnte*, *cōquína* are due to the analogy of *cuire*, which comes regularly from **cōcere* (see § 71, ii.).]

U.

[Classical Latin *ū*: Romanic *u*.]

TONIC U.

§ 77. Tonic *u* free becomes *u* (written *u*) in French :—

múru: *mur*; *acútu*: *aigu*; *núdu*: *nu*; *virtúte*: *vertu*;
plús: *plus*; *cúpa*: *cuve*; *múla*: *mule*.

[*a* (ā, ǣ); *e* (ē, ǣ, ǣ, ī); *ē* (ē, ǣ); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ō); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

Similarly before nasal (becoming nasalised *ũ* if the nasal is final):—

plúma: *plume*; **lúna**: *lune*; **prúna**: *prune*; **alúmen**: *alun*; **únu**: *un*; **Augustodúnu**: *Autun*; **Verodúnu**: *Verdun*.

§ 78. Tonic *u* blocked also becomes *ũ* (written *u*) in French:—

núllu: *nul*; **jústu**: *juste*; **de-úsque**: *jusque*; **púl(i)ce**: *puce*; **consuetúd(i)ne**: *coutume*; **amaritúd(i)ne**: *amertume*.

§ 79. Tonic *u* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *ui* (written *ui*) in French:—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

pertúsiu: *pertuis*; ***ústiu** (for *óst-*): *huis*; ***júdiu** (for *judaeu*): *juif*; *ũ* before final nasal:—**júniu**: *juin*.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

lúc(e)re: *luire*; **condúc(e)re**: *conduire*; ***destrúg(e)re**: *détruire*; **frúctu**: *fruit*; **trúcta**: *truïte*; **búxu**: *buis*.

PRETONIC U.

§ 80. Pretonic *u*, like tonic *u*, becomes *ũ* (written *u*) in French:—

fumáre: *fumer*; **murália**: *muraille*; **duráre**: *durer*; **juméntu**: *jument*; **humánu**: *humain*; **lum(i)nária**: *lumière*.

[*Note*.—i. When preceded by *j* pretonic *u* is sometimes weakened to *e* in French:—**juníperu**: *genièvre*; ***juníola**: *genisse*.—ii. *Froment* comes not from **frúméntu**, but from ***frúméntu** (see § 66).]

§ 81. Pretonic *u* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *ui* (written *ui*) in French:—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

***ustiáriu**: *huissier*; ***acutiáre**: *aiguïser*; ***minutiáriu**: *menuisier*.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

lucénte: *luisant*; **conducénte**: *conduisant*; **conduxísti**: *conduisis*.

[*Note*.—*Foison*, *oignon*, *moisir*, come not from **fusióne**, **unióne**, **múcére**, but from **fũ-**, **ũn-**, **mũ-** (see § 67).]

[**a** (*ā*, *ǣ*); **e** (*ē*, *ǣ*, *ē*, *ī*); **ę** (*ě*, *ǣ*); **i** (*ī*); **o** (*ō*, *ū*); **o** (*ó*); **u** (*ū*); **ω** (*au*).]

AU.

[Classical Latin *au*: Romanic *ω*.]

TONIC Ω.

§ 82. Tonic *ω* free becomes *o* in French:—

(aú) *ωru*: *or*; *ωsa*: *chose*; *clōdre* (*claudere*): *clore*; *thesωru*: *trésor*; *pωpre* (*paupere*): O. F. *povre* (*pauvre*); *ωle*: O. F. *chol* (*chou*); *fωrga* (*fábrica*): *forge*; *parōla* (*parábola*): *parole*; *tōla* (*tábula*): *tôle*.

[*Note*.—i. In *forge*, *parole*, *tôle*, the *o* represents *au* formed by the combination of tonic *a* with *b* changed into *v* and vocalized:—*fábr(i)ca*, *fav'ra*, *faurga*: *forge*; *paráb(o)la*, *parav'la*, *paraula*: *parole*; *tábula*, *tav'la*, *taula*: *tôle*.—ii. French *o* from tonic Romanic *ω*, where not followed by consonant, towards the thirteenth century, was changed into *ou*:—*lōdat*: O. F. *loc*, F. *loue*; *alōda*: O. F. *aloe*, F. *aloue* (-ette); **gōta* (for *gábata*): O. F. *joe*, F. *joue*; *ōt* (*aut*): O. F. *o*, F. *ou*.]

§ 83. Tonic *ω* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *oi* in French:—

(aú) *gōdia*: *joie*; *nōsea*: *noise*; **clōstriu*: *cloître*; *ωca*: *oie*.

PRETONIC Ω.

§ 84. Pretonic *ω* becomes *o* in French (in the same way as tonic *ω*):—

pōsāre: *poser*; *ωsāre*: *oser*; *ωric(u)la*: *oreille*; *clōstūra*: *clôture*; *lōrāriū*: O. F. *lorier* (*laurier*).

[*Note*.—i. French *o* from pretonic Romanic *ω*, when before another vowel, became *ou* towards the thirteenth century (as in the case of the tonic *ω*; see § 82, *n. ii.*):—*lōdāre*: O. F. *loer*, F. *louer*; *ωdīre*: O. F. *oir*, F. *ouir*; *gōdīre* (for *-ēre*): O. F. *jōir*, F. *jouir*.—ii. *Auguriū* became **aguru*, whence O. F. *eür*, F. *heur* (in *bonheur*, *malheur*).]

[*a* (ā, ä); *e* (ē, ē̄, ē̅, ĩ); *ē* (ē, ē̅); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ō); *u* (ū); *ω* (*au*).]

§ 85. Pretonic *ω* followed by *yod* combines with it to form the diphthong *oi* (*oy*) in French (as in the case of tonic *ω*):—
gōdiōsu: *joyeux*; *ωcéllu* (for *avi-*): *oiseau*; **ωciōne*: *oison*.

CHAPTER III.

French Vowels and Diphthongs.

To save space and to avoid needless repetition, the reader, when possible, is referred back to the previous chapter on the Romanic vowels, in which numerous examples are given under each heading.

FRENCH SIMPLE VOWELS.

A.

French *a* comes from

§ 86. Tonic *a* blocked¹ (see § 33):—

(*ā*) *caballu*: *cheval*; *flamma*: *flamme*; (*ǣ*) *parte*: *part*;
cam(e)ra: *chambre*.

§ 87. Pretonic *a* free or blocked (see § 38):—

- i. (*ā*) *panāriu*: *panier*; (*ǣ*) *habére*: *avoir*; *marítu*: *mari*.
- ii. (*ā*) *pastúra*: *pâture*; (*ǣ*) *cantáre*: *chanter*; *martéllu*:
marteau.

In certain cases from

§ 88. Tonic *a* free before *l* (see § 31, *n. i.*):—

(*á*) *aequale*: *égal*; *regale*: *royal*; (*ǣ*) *malu*: *mal*.

¹ These vowels (*a*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ω*) are of course the Romanic vowels. For the correspondence between these and the classical Latin vowels, see scheme at foot, and § 30.

[*a* (*ā*, *ǣ*); *e* (*ē*, *æ*, *œ*, *ī*); *ē* (*ě*, *œ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō*, *ū*); *o* (*ó*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

§ 89. Tonic *ə* blocked before nasal:—

(1) *lengua*: langue; *cengula*: sangle; **diamen(i)ca* (for *dies dominica*): dimanche; *tēnca*: tanche; *fēmbrīa*: frange; *sēne* (sine) + *s*: sans; *de-əntus*: dans.

[*Note*.—i. This change does not appear to have taken place in the case of class. Lat. *ē* blocked before nasal. In the above cases *an* is a substitution for an earlier *en*, the regular development (e.g. *fīnd(e)re*: *fendre*; *eīn(e)re*: *cendre*), as in O. F. *lengue*, *diemenche*, &c. (See § 43.)—ii. The form *sans* (O. F. *sens*) in which the development of free tonic *ə* (see § 42) has been checked by the so-called adverbial *s*, has doubtless been influenced by *dans* (O. F. *dens*).]

§ 90. Pretonic *ə* free or blocked:—

i. (ē) *glēnāre*: glaner; *zēlōsu*: jaloux; (1) *bēlāncia*: balance; *pēgrītia*: paresse.

ii. (1) *sēngulāre*: sanglier; *sēlvāticu*: O. F. *salvage* (sauvage); **sēnglūtū* (for *singultu*): sanglot; *ēndūctile*: andouille.

[*Note*.—In several of the above cases also *a* is a substitution for an earlier *e*, the regular development, as in O. F. *pēresse*, *sēnglier*, &c. (see § 47).]

§ 91. Pretonic *ə* free or blocked (see § 53, *n. i.*):—

i. *trēmāculu*: tramail; **trēpāliu*: travail.

ii. *mērcātu*: marché; *pērvēnīre*: parvenir; *pērgamēnu*: parchemin; *dēlphīnu*: O. F. *dalfin* (dauphin).

§ 92. Pretonic *ɔ*:—

lɔcūsta: langouste; **dɔminiāriu*: danger. (For the regular development of pretonic *ɔ*, see §§ 73-76.)

[*a* (ā, ǣ); *ə* (ē, ē̄, ē̄̄, 1); *ɛ* (ě, ǣ̄); *i* (ī); *ɔ* (ō, ū); *ɔ* (ǫ); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

E.

French *e* comes from

§ 93. Tonic *e* blocked (see § 43):—

(ē) *vəndere*: *vendre*; *fēm(i)na*: *femme*; (ĭ) *vęrga*: *verge*; *cęn(e)re*: *cendre*.

§ 94. Tonic *e* blocked in Latin position:—

fęrru: *fer*; *sępte*: *sept*.

[*Note*.—Tonic *e* blocked in Romanic position usually becomes *ie* in French; in certain cases, however, it persists (see § 52, ii. *n.*).]

§ 95. Pretonic *e* free or blocked:—

i. (ā) *dębėre*: *devoir*; *pęsāre* (*pensāre*): *peser*; (ĭ) *męnāre*: *mener*; *męnūtu*: *menu*.

ii. (ĭ) *vęrtūte*: *vertu*; *fęrmāre*: *fermer*.

[*Note*.—Pretonic *e* sometimes becomes *a* in French (see §§ 47, 90).]

§ 96. Pretonic *e* free or blocked:—

i. *lęvāre*: *lever*; *vęnĭre*: *venir*.

ii. *pęrdęnte*: *perdant*; *lęntĭcula*: *lentille*.

[*Note*.—Pretonic *e*, like pretonic *e*, sometimes becomes *a* in French (see § 90). Such forms as *vięndrai*, *tięndrai* (from *vęnĭre-hābeo*, *tęnere-hābeo*) are irregular, the diphthong *ie* being due to the analogy of *vient*, *tient*. In O. F. the forms were *vęndrai*, *tęndrai* (see § 53, *n. ii.*).]

§ 97. Tonic *a* free:—

(ā) *cantare*: *chanter*; *nasu*: *nez*; (ā) *mare*: *mer*; *sal*: *sel*.

[*Note*.—In certain cases tonic *a* free undergoes exceptional changes (see § 31, *note*).]

§ 98. Pretonic initial *a* free preceded by *e* (which becomes *ch*) (see § 39, i.):—

(ā) *canūtu*: *chenu*; (ā) *cabāllu*: *cheval*.

§ 99. Final or counterfinal atonic *a* (see § 37):—

i. *pórta*: *porte*; *amára*: *amère*.

ii. *ōrnā-męntu*: *orne-ment*; *ōrphā-nĭnu*: *orphe-lin*.

[*a* (ā, ă); *e* (ē, ę, ę, ĭ); *e* (ě, ę); *i* (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ō); *u* (ū); *u* (au).]

§ 100. Pretonic *i* (class. Lat. *ī*) followed by tonic *i* :—
divínu : *devin* ; **divísat** : *devise*.

[*Note*.—Pretonic *i* becomes *e* in French in certain other cases also (see § 58).]

In certain cases from

§ 101. Pretonic initial *a* (see § 38) :—
(ā) granáriu : *grenier* ; **(ǣ) graváre** : *grèver* ; **captívu** : *chétif*.

§ 102. Pretonic initial *o* :—
sūbmónere : *semondre* ; **sūccurríre** : *secourir* ; **sūblóngu** :
selon (see § 65, ii. *n.*).

§ 103. Pretonic initial *u* (class. Lat. *ū*) preceded by *j* (see § 80, *n. i.*) :—
juníperu : *genièvre* ; ***junícia** : *genisse* .

French *e* also occurs

§ 104. As *supporting vowel* ('*voyelle d'appui*') at the end of a word or syllable, with certain groups of consonants that cannot be pronounced without it, in place of the lost atonic final vowel (other than *a* ; see § 23, iii.) :—
ár(b)re : *arbre* ; **gén(ě)ru** : *gendre* ; **hóm(ī)ne** : *homme* ;
lép(ǫ)re : *lièvre* ; **tígre** : *tigre*.

[*Note*.—In *père, mère, frère, croire*, and the like, which were in O. F. *pedr-e, medr-e, fredr-e, creidr-e*, from *pátre, mátre, frátre, créd(e)re*, this *e* survives though no longer required.]

It occurs under similar circumstances to replace the lost counterfinal vowel (other than *a* ; see § 27) :—
quad-rí-fúrcu : *carr-e-four* ; **la-trō-cíniu** : O. F. *larr-e-cin* (*larcin*).

[*Note*.—This *e* was originally present in many words which have since lost it by contraction, e.g. *larcin, persil* (O. F. *perr-e-sil* from **pe-trō-séliu*).]

[*a* (ā, ǣ) ; *e* (ē, ǣ, ǫ, ī) ; *o* (ě, ǫ) ; *i* (ī) ; *o* (ō, ū) ; *o* (ǫ) ; *u* (ū) ; *ω* (au).]

This *e* also occurs as support of soft final *ch* and *g* (resulting from the action of *yod*; see § 11, ii, iii.):—

ápiu: *ache*; **sápiat**: *sache*; **própiu**: *proche*; **hórdeu**: *orge*; **símiu**: *singe*; **aetáticu**: *âge*; as well as in *image*, *vierge*, *ange*, and the like from *imáigne*, *vírgine*, *ángelu*.

§ 105. As prosthetic *e*, before the initial groups **sc**, **sm**, **sp**, **st** (see § 236):—

scabéllu: *escabeau*; **scribere**: O. F. *escrire* (*écrire*); **sma-rágu**: O. F. *esmeralde* (*éméralde*); **speráre**: *espérer*; **spína**: O. F. *espine* (*épine*); **stánnu**: *étain*; &c.

[*Note*.—Originally this *e* occurred only when the preceding word ended with a consonant; thus in a poem of the ninth century¹ we find *une spede* ('une épée'), and in one of the eleventh century², *ma sponse* ('mon épouse'), but *out esposede* ('eut épousée'). This prosthetic vowel existed already (as *i*) in popular Latin, in which such forms as *iscribere*, *isperare*, *istare*, are common.]

I.

French *i* comes from

§ 106. Tonic *i* free or blocked (see § 56):—

i. **nídu**: *níd*; **veníre**: *venír*; **spína**: *épine*; **vínu**: *vin*; **spícu**: *épi*.

ii. **scríptu**: *écrit*; **mílle**: *míl*; **díctu**: *dît*; **quínque**: *cinq*.

§ 107. Pretonic *i* free or blocked (see § 57):—

i. **vivénte**: *vivant*; **hibérnu**: *hiver*.

ii. **villánu**: *vîlain*; **quínquaginta**: *cinquante*.

§ 108. Tonic *a* between two *yods* (see § 36):—

¹ The Cantilena of Saint Eulalia; see Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. ii).

² The Life of St. Alexis; see *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. iv).

[**a** (ā, ǣ); **e** (ē, æ, ǣ, ɪ); **ē** (ě, ǣ); **i** (ī); **o** (ō, ū); **o** (ó); **u** (ū); **ω** (au).]

(ǎ) **Victoriacū**: Vitry; **Floriacū**: Fleury; (ǎ) **jacet**: gît; **jacita**: gîte.

[*Note.*—In *Vitry*, *Fleury*, and the like, *y* is merely the modern orthography for *i*, which is itself a reduction of the triphthong *iei*.]

§ 109. Tonic *e* free preceded by palatal (*c*, *g*) (see § 46):—
(é) **cēra**: cire; **mercēde**: merci; **placēre**: plaisir; **pagēse** (**pagense**): pays (O. F. *païs*).

[*Note.*—This change takes place also in certain other cases, in some of which the substitution of *i* for *e* had already taken place in the popular Latin:—**pergamēnu**: parchemin; **venēnu**: venin; **vervéce**: brebis; **tapētu**: tapis; **tenēre**: tenir (see § 42, *n.* ii.).

§ 110. Tonic *e* followed by *yod* (see § 51):—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

prētiu: prix; **impēriu**: empire; **mēdiu**: mi.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

dēcem: dix; **nēgat**: nie; **lēctu**: lit; **pēctus**: pis.

In certain cases from

§ 111. Pretonic *e* under the influence of *yod* (see § 55):—

(ě) **lēōne**: lion; **ēbōrea**: ivoire; **ēcce-hīc**: ici; (ǣ) **pēōnia**: pivoine; **cēmēntu**: ciment.

§ 112. As the result of contraction:—

vidīsti: vis (O. F. *veīs*); **vidīstis**: vîtes (O. F. *veīstes*); **vidīsse**: visse (O. F. *veīsse*); ***diamīnica**: dimanche (O. F. *diēmenche*).

§ 113. It is also present in certain cases before *l* to indicate that the latter is liquefied ('*l* mouillée'), as in **travaīl**, **tramaīl**, **paīlle**, **muraīlle**, **volaīlle**, &c. (see § 34, iii.).

O.

French *o* comes from

§ 114. Tonic *o* and *o* free before nasal, the French vowel becoming *ō* if the nasal is final (see §§ 60, 69):—

[a (ā, ǣ); *e* (ē, ǣ, œ, y); *e* (ě, ǣ); i (ī); *o* (ō, ū); *o* (ǫ); u (ū); ω (au).]

- i. (ó) **poma** : pomme ; **nomen** : nom ; **corona** : couronne ;
leone : lion ; (ú) **somus** : sommes.
 ii. (ó) **bona** : bonne ; **homo** : on.

§ 115. Tonic **o** blocked before nasal, the French vowel becoming nasalised (see § 62):—

(ó) **pon(e)re** : pondre ; **monte** : mont ; (ú) **somma** : somme ;
mondu : monde ; **nom(e)ru** : nombre.

§ 116. Tonic **o** followed by *yod* and nasal, if the latter precedes a vowel, **n** being liquefied (see § 64, i.):—

(ó) **ciconia** : cigogne ; **Bononia** : Boulogne ; (ú) **verecordia** : vergogne ; **Burgondia** : Bourgogne.

§ 117. Tonic **o** blocked (see § 70):—

porta : porte ; **collu** : col ; **hom(i)ne** : homme ; **pos(i)ta** : poste.

§ 118. Pretonic **o** and **o** before nasal (see §§ 66, 75):—

- i. (ō) **romānu** : romain ; **nom(i)nāre** : nommer ; (ū) **mon-dānu** : mondain ; **onguēntu** : onguent.
 ii. (ö) **sonāre** : sonner ; **monēta** : monnaie.

§ 119. Pretonic **o** blocked (see § 74):—

portāre : porter ; **mortāle** : mortel ; **molliſia** : mollesse.

§ 120. Tonic **o** free (see § 82):—

oru : or ; **cosa** : chose.

§ 121. Pretonic **o** (see § 84):—

posāre : poser ; **oric(u)la** : oreille ; **orelianos** : Orléans.

In certain cases from

§ 122. Pretonic **a** :—

(ā) **natāle** : Noël ; (ǣ) **articula** : orteil ; **patēlla** : poêle ;
 ***damnāticu** : dommage. (For the regular development of pretonic **a**, see § 38.)

[**a** (ā, ǣ); **e** (ē, ēa, ēa, ī); **e** (ě, ǣ); **i** (ī); **o** (ō, ū); **o** (ö); **u** (ū); **o** (au).]

U.

French *u* (*û*) comes from

§ 123. Tonic *u* (class. Lat. *û*) free (becoming *û* if before final nasal) or blocked (see §§ 77-8):—

i. *núdu*: *nu*; *acútu*: *aigu*; *múla*: *mule*; *alúmen*: *alun*;
únu: *un*; *Verodúnu*: *Verdun*.

ii. *núllu*: *nul*; *jústu*: *juste*; *púl(i)œ*: *puce*.

§ 124. Pretonic *u* free or blocked (see § 80):—

duráre: *durer*; *fumáre*: *fumer*; *lum(i)nária*: *lumière*.

In one or two exceptional cases from

§ 125. Pretonic *ę* free:—

(1) *femáriu*: *fumier*; *bębéntę*: *buvant*; *bębébat*: *buvait*.

[*Note*.—This exceptional change does not seem to have occurred in the case of pretonic *ę*. For the regular development of pretonic *ę*, see § 47.]

§ 126. French *u* occurs in certain instances as the result of contraction:—

matúru: *mûr* (O. F. *meûr*); **vedútu*: *vu* (O. F. *veû*); **credútu*: *cru* (O. F. *creû*); *secúru*: *sûr* (O. F. *seûr*); **sapútu*: *su* (O. F. *seû*).

§ 127. It occurs also as parasitic *u* with hard *g* (before *e* and *i*) and *q*, as in *guepe*, *guet*, *guerre*, *gueule*, *marguerite*; *gui*, *guide*, *guimauve*, *guichet*, *queue*, *quenouille*, *queux*, *quille*, *quinze*, *quoi*, &c.

FRENCH DIPHTHONGS AND VOWEL-GROUPS.

AI.

French *ai* comes from

§ 128. Tonic *a* free before nasal, becoming *ai* when nasal is final (see § 32):—

[*a* (*ā*, *ǣ*); *ę* (*ē*, *ǣ*, *œ*, *ī*); *ę* (*ě*, *ǣ*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō*, *ū*); *o* (*ō*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

(ǎ) **damu**: *daïm*; **pane**: *païn*; **lana**: *laine*; (ǎ) **fame**: *faïm*; **manu**: *maïn*; **amas**: *aïmes*.

§ 129. Tonic **a** in combination with *yod* (see § 34, i, ii.):—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

(ǎ) **palatiu**: *palais*; **major**: *maïre*; (ǎ) **badiu**: *bai*; **paria**: *païre*.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

(ǎ) **pace**: *paix*; **plaga**: *plaie*; **pascere**: *païstre*; **planctu**: *plaint*; (ǎ) **magis**: *mais*; **facere**: *faire*; **lacte**: *laît*; **sanctu**: *saint*.

§ 130. Pretonic **a** followed by *yod* (see § 40):—

i. With Latin *yod*:—

(ǎ) **salatiône**: *salaison*; ***araneâta**: *araignée*; (ǎ) **ratione**: *raison*; **adjutâre**: *aider*.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

(ǎ) **laxâre**: *laisser*; **tractâre**: *traïter*; (ǎ) **placere**: *plaisir*; **racému**: *raisin*.

§ 131. French *ai* also occurs as the result of contraction:—
sagîmen: *sain* (O. F. *saïn*); **vagîna**: *gaïne* (O. F. *gaïne*);
tradîtor: *traïtre* (O. F. *traïtre*); **tragîmen**: *traïn* (O. F. *traïn*);
adamânte: *aimant* (O. F. *aëmant, aïmant*).

§ 132. It is sometimes merely graphic for *e* (see § 31, n. ii.):—
(ǎ) **ala**: *aïle* (O. F. *ele*); **claru**: *clair* (O. F. *cler*); (ǎ) **pare**:
païr (O. F. *per*).

§ 133. In certain cases *ai* is a recent substitution for *oi*:—
(ǎ) **theca**: *taïe* (O. F. *toïe*); **cręta**: *craïe* (O. F. *croïe*);
Alnețu: *Aunay* (O. F. *Aunoi*); **Francęse** (**Francęse**):
français (O. F. *françois*); **habebat**: *avaït* (O. F. *avoïe*);
faciebant: *faisaïent* (O. F. *faisoient*); (ǎ) **cognoscere**: *con-*
naïtre (O. F. *conoïstre*); &c. (see §§ 41, 63, ii.).

[*Note*.—This change was made in the eighteenth century, at the instance of Voltaire, in order to bring the spelling into conformity with the changed pronunciation of *oi*.]

[**a** (ǎ, ǎ); **e** (ē, æ, œ, ĩ); **e** (ě, ǣ); **i** (ĩ); **o** (ō, ũ); **o** (ö); **u** (ū); **u** (au).]

EI.

French *ei* comes from

§ 134. Tonic *e* free before nasal (becoming *ē* when nasal is final) (see § 42):—

(é) *frēnu*: *frein*; *Rēmos*: *Reims*; (ē) *balēna*: *baleine*; (œ) *pēna*: *peine*; (ī) *sēnu*: *sein*.

§ 135. Tonic *e* and *i* blocked, before nasal and *yod*:—

(í) *pēngere*: *peindre*; *cēngere*: *ceindre*; *fēngere*: *feindre*;
(í) *tinctu*: *teint*; *pinctor*: *peintre*; *incinota*: *enceinte*;
fincta: *feinte*.

§ 136. French *ei* occurs sometimes as the result of contraction:—

regína: *reine* (O. F. *reïne*); *sagína*: *seine* (O. F. *seïne*).

OI (OY).

French *oi* (*oy*) comes from

§ 137. Tonic *e* free (see § 41):—

(é) *habere*: *avoir*; *sēta*: *soie*; (í) *pēlu*: *poil*; *fēde*: *foi*.

§ 138. Tonic *e* followed by *yod* (see § 44):—

(é) *rege*: *roi*; *tēctu*: *toit*; (í) *pēce*: *poix*; *nēgru*: *noir*.

§ 139. Tonic *o* followed by *yod* (see § 63):—

(ó) *glōria*: *gloire*; *dormitoriu*: *dortoir*; *testimoniū*: *testmoin*; *voce*: *voix*; *boscū*: *bois*; (ŭ) *cōneu*: *coin*; *angostia*: *angoisse*; *croce*: *croix*; *pōnetu*: *point*.

§ 140. Pretonic *e* combined with *yod* (see § 48):—

(ē) *tēctūra*: *toiture*; *crēscēnte*: *croissant*; (i) *lēcēre*: *loisir*;
**pēciónē*: *poisson*.

[a (ā, ǣ); e (ē, ēa, ēo, ī); e (ě, ǣ); i (ī); o (ō, ŭ); o (ǫ); u (ū); ω (au).]

§ 141. Pretonic *ɐ* combined with *yod* (see § 54):—
mɛssiône: *moisson*; *mɛdiánu*: *moyen*; *nɛcáre*: *noyer*;
vɛctúra: *voiture*.

§ 142. Pretonic *ɔ* combined with *yod* (see § 67):—
 (ō) *pɔtiône*: *poison*; *ɔtiósu*: *oïseux*; (ũ) *ɔpsiône* (for *fũ*):
foison; **nɔcáriu*: *noyer*.

§ 143. Pretonic *ɔ* combined with *yod* (see § 76):—
ɔcáriu: *foyer*; **lɔcáriu*: *loyer*; **jɔcále*: *joyau*.

UI.

French *ui* comes from

§ 144. Tonic *ɔ* followed by *yod* (see § 71):—
cɔriu: *cuir*; *mɔdiu*: *muid*; *ɔstreá*: *huître*; *nɔctɛ*: *nuît*;
cɔxa: *cuisse*.

§ 145. Tonic *u* followed by *yod* (see § 79):—
pertúsiu: *pertuis*; *júniu*: *juin*; *frúctu*: *fruit*; *lúc(ɛ)re*:
luire; *búxu*: *buis*.

§ 146. Pretonic *u* combined with *yod* (see § 81):—
**acutiáre*: *aiguiser*; *lucénte*: *luisant*; *conducénte*: *con-*
duisant.

AU.

§ 147. French *au* results from tonic and pretonic *a* blocked before *l* followed by another consonant, the *l* being vocalised (see § 33, *n.*; § 38, *ii. n.*):—

i. *sálvu*: *sauv*; *pálmũ*: *paume*; *álsru*: *autre*.

ii. *salváticu*: *sauvage*; *legal(i)táte*: *loyauté*; *mal(ɛ)sápidu*:
maussade.

[*a* (ā, ǣ); *ɛ* (ē, æ, œ, i); *ɛ* (ě, ø); *i* (ī); *ɔ* (ō, ũ); *ɔ* (ö); *u* (ū); *ω* (au).]

EU (ÆU).

French *eu* (æu) comes from

§ 148. Tonic *o* free (see § 59):—

(ó) *flore*: fleur; *hóra*: heure; *ovu*: œuf; *votu*: vœu; (ú) *gola*: gueule; *jovene*: jeune; *colobra*: couleuvre.

§ 149. Tonic *o* free (see §§ 68, 72):—

novu: neuf; *bove*: bœuf; *cqr*: cœur; *mola*: meule; *qpera*: œuvre; *aviqlu*: aïeul; *gladiqlu*: glaïeul; *linteqlu*: linceul; *dqliu*: deuil; *folia*: feuille.

§ 150. In certain cases French *eu* occurs as the result of contraction:—

jejúnu: jeun (O. F. *jeûn*); **habútu*: eu (O. F. *eû*); **agúru* (for *augúriu*): heur (O. F. *eûr*).

OU.

French *ou* comes from

§ 151. Tonic *o* blocked (see §§ 61, 63, ii. n.):—

(ó) **corte*: cour; *cop(u)la*: couple; **tottu*: tout; (ú) *orsu*: ours; *gotta*: goutte; *bocca*: bouche; *fenoc(u)lu*: fenouil; *ranq(n)c(u)lu*: grenouille.

§ 152. Tonic *o* blocked before vocalised *l* (see § 70, n.):—
mql(e)re: moudre; *absql(vø)re*: absoudre.

§ 153. Pretonic *o* free or blocked (see § 65):—

i. (ó) *nqðáre*: nouer; *sposáre* (*sponsare*): épouser; (ú) *cqbáre*: couvrir; *sqbínde*: souvent.

ii. (ó) *cqrténse*: courtois; *cqstáre* (*constare*): coûter; (ú) *dopláre*: doubler; *cqrrente*: courant.

§ 154. Pretonic *o* free (see § 73):—

qplóre: couleur; *qqróna*: couronne; *mqlínu*: moulin.

[a (ā, ǣ); e (ē, æ, œ, ȳ); ē (ě, ǽ); i (ī); o (ō, ū); q (ö); u (ū); ω (au).]

§ 155. French *ou* comes, by an exceptional change, from the termination *-ávu* in :—
clávu : *clou* ; *Andegávu* : *Anjou* ; *Pictávu* : *Poitou* (see § 31, n. iii.).

IE.

French *ie* comes from

§ 156. Tonic *e* free (see § 49) :—
həri : *hier* ; *pəde* : *piéd* ; *oəlu* : *ciél* ; *fəbre* : *fièvre* ; *bəne* : *bién* ; *rəm* : *rien*.

§ 157. Tonic *e* blocked in Romanic position (see § 52, ii.) :—
təp(i)du : *tiède* ; *pəd(i)ca* : *piège* ; *əb(u)lu* : *hièble*.

§ 158. Tonic *a* (*ā*) free in the suffixes *-āriu*, *-āria*, *-āre* (see § 31, n. iv. ; § 34, i. n.) :—
primāriu : *premier* ; *ripāria* : *rivière* ; *singulāre* : *sanglier* ; *scholāre* : *écolier*.

§ 159. Tonic *a* free between *yod* and nasal, owing to the reduction of the group *-iain* to *-ien* (see § 35, ii. n.) :—
(ā) ligamen : *lien* ; *christianu* : *chretien* ; *(ā) cane* : *chien*.

§ 160. Tonic *a* free preceded by *yod* (see § 35) :—
(ā) medietate : *moitié* ; *pietate* : *pitié* ; *renegatu* : *renié*.

EAU.

§ 161. French *eau* comes, by an exceptional change, from the termination *-éllu* :—
bəllu : *beau* ; *castəllu* : *château* ; *agnəllu* : *agneau* ; *vascəllu* : *vaisseau* ; *vitəllu* : *veau*.

[*Note*.—i. This change is explained as follows :—while *béllu* became *bel*, and *bélla* became *belle*, the nominative *béllus* became *bels*, in which the *e* before *ls* at the beginning of the twelfth century was developed into the diphthong *ea*, whence the word became *beals*. By the vocalisation of the *l* (see § 289), this form became *beaus*, whence

[*a* (*ā*, *ǣ*) ; *e* (*ē*, *æ*, *œ*, *ī*) ; *ē* (*ě*, *ǣ*) ; *i* (*ī*) ; *o* (*ō*, *ū*) ; *o* (*ö*) ; *u* (*ū*) ; *ω* (*au*).]

by the loss of *s* through the decay of the declension, *beau*.—ii. The forms *veau* (*vitellu*), *seau* (*sitellu*), *fléau* (*flagellu*), *préau* (*pratellu*), are contractions of *ve-eau* (O. F. *veël*), *se-eau* (O. F. *seël*), *fle-eau* (O. F. *flaël*), *pre-eau* (O. F. *preël*).—iii. The word *eau* ('water') comes from *âqua* (**acva*, *aive*, *eve*, *eave*, *eaue*, *eau*).]

IEU.

§ 162. The group *ieu* comes, by an exceptional change, from tonic *ē* in :—

Dēu : *Dieu* ; **Matthēu** : *Matthieu*.

And from tonic *ō* in :—

lōeu : *lieu*.

It also results from tonic *ē* before *l* and *yod* :—

mēlius : *mieux* ; ***vēc'lu** (for *vet'lus*, *vetulus*) : *vieux* ;

and from tonic *ē* (ī) under the same circumstances :—

axēolu (*axiculu*) : *essieu*.

Nasalised Vowels and Diphthongs.

§ 163. When the vowels and certain of the diphthongs precede final *m* or *n* in French, or *m* or *n* followed by one or more consonants, they become *nasalised* by the reaction of the nasal consonants, which at the same time lose their ordinary pronunciation.

§ 164. The nasalised vowels and diphthongs, which are distinguished by the *tilde* (~), are as follows : *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*, *ãi*, *ēĩ*, *ōĩ*, *uĩ*, *ēũ* (and *ōũĩ*).

Examples : (*ã*) *an*, *jambe*, *pampre*, *chance* ; (*ẽ*) *en*, *temps*, *tempe*, *lente* ; (*ĩ*) *pin*, *timbre*, *singe*, *printemps* ; (*õ*) *paon*, *nombre*, *tomber*, *pondre* ; (*ũ*) *rum*, *alun*, *humble*, *lundi* ; (*ãi*) *faim*, *essaim*, *main*, *plaindre* ; (*ēĩ*) *plein*, *Reims*, *feindre* ; (*ōĩ*) *foin*, *coing*, *poindre*, *jointe* ; (*uĩ*) *juin* ; (*ēũ*) *jeun*, *Meun* ; (*ōũĩ*) *marsoin*.

[*a* (*ã*, *ǣ*); *ē* (*ē*, *œ*, *œ*, *ī*); *ē* (*ě*, *ě*); *i* (*ī*); *o* (*ō*, *ũ*); *o* (*ö*); *u* (*ū*); *ω* (*au*).]

CONSONANTS.

CHAPTER IV.

Latin Consonants.

§ 165. The Latin consonants are nineteen in number, viz. **B, C, D, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z.**

§ 166. If out of these we set aside **H** (which is an aspirated guttural), **J** (which is a semi-vowel), **K** (which is merely a graphic sign borrowed from the Greek), **Q** (which is in some respects equivalent to **C**), **X** (which is a double letter, viz. **CS**), and **Z** (which is a sign borrowed from the Greek, and represents the sound **DS**), we have left the thirteen consonants, **B, C, D, F, G, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, V.**

Classification of Latin Consonants.

§ 167. These thirteen consonants may be classified in two ways according to the point of view from which they are regarded.

- i. They may be divided into *three families*, corresponding to the nature of the organs by means of which, with the help of the tongue, they are articulated, viz. two *Palatals* (**C, G**), six *Dentals* (**T, D, S, R, L, N**), and five *Labials* (**P, B, F, V, M**).

[*Note.*—The *Palatals* **C, G**, together with **H** and **J**, form the family of *Gutturals*.]

- ii. They may be distributed into *four classes*, according to the effort required for their emission, the length of time occupied in their pronunciation, or the particular organs employed in their production, viz. six *Explosives* (pronounced sharply and quickly), which are subdivided into three voiceless (**C, T, P**) and three corresponding voiced ones (**G, D, B**); three *Spirants* (articulated with a certain degree of friction), which

are subdivided into two voiceless (**S**, **F**) and one voiced (**V**, which corresponds to **F**); two *Liquids* (emitted without effort), of which one is a vibrant (**R**), the other a liquid strictly speaking (**L**); and two *Nasals* (**M**, **N**).

[*Note*.—Of these the *Explosives* are also termed *mute* or *instantaneous* consonants, the *Spirants* are also termed *fricative* or *continuous* consonants, and the *Liquids* and *Nasals* are classed together as *sonorous* consonants.]

§ 168. In the following table these thirteen consonants are so arranged as to exhibit this double classification :—

	Explosives.		Spirants.		Liquids.	Nasals.
	Voiceless.	Voiced.	Voiceless.	Voiced.		
PALATALS	C	G				
DENTALS	T	D	S		RL	N
LABIALS	P	B	F	V		M

[*Note*.—To these thirteen consonants three others have been added in French, viz. the voiceless spirant palatal *ch* (as in *chambre*), the voiced spirant palatal *j* (as in *jambe*), and the voiced spirant dental *z* or soft *s* (as in *douze*, *maison*) (see § 218).]

Modification of Consonants.

§ 169. The Latin consonants on their passage into French either remain unchanged, or are modified

- i. By becoming weakened.
- ii. By a process of accommodation.

Weakening of Consonants.

§ 170. A consonant may be weakened

- i. By being changed from a voiceless explosive into a voiced explosive (usually of the same family) :—

(c : g) *acútu* : *aigu* ; (t : d) *sposáta* : O. F. *esposede*.

Or from an explosive into a spirant (usually of the same family) :—

(p : v) lupa : louve ; (p : f) *cápu : chef ; (b : v) fāba : fève ;
(b : f) trābe : tref.

ii. By being resolved into a vowel, or vocalised :—

(o : i) fáctu : fait ; (g : i) plaga : plaie ; (l : u) tálpa : taupe.

iii. Or it may be effaced altogether :—

(t) cantáta : chantée ; (o) secúru : O. F. seür (sür) ; (d) laudáre : louer ; (g) *agúru : O. F. eür (heur) ; (b) *habútu : O. F. eü (eu) ; (p) rúpta : route.

Accommodation of Consonants.

§ 171. The accommodation of consonants takes place as the result of the influence of one consonant upon another in close contact with it ; thus (m : n) in sém(i)ta : sente, cóm(i)tē : O. F. conte, the labial nasal m being brought into contact with the dental t, through the loss of the atonic vowel, has been changed into the dental nasal n.

Assimilation.

§ 172. Accommodation is sometimes carried to the extent of *assimilation*, i. e. a consonant may be changed into one of the same kind as the consonant which follows it ; thus (tr : rr) in nutrīre : nourrir, it(e)rāre : errer, the t has been assimilated in French to the following r, not by a sudden change, but by a gradual transition (tr : dr : rr), as is evident from O. F. *nodrir*, *edrer*, which are intermediate between the Latin and modern French forms.

Dissimilation.

§ 173. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that when the same consonant occurs twice in a word, it is exchanged for another in order to avoid the repetition of the same articulation at such a short interval ; thus (r-r : l-r) in paraverédu : palefroi, peregrínu : pèlerin, the first Latin r has been exchanged in French for l on account of the recurrence of the r in the latter part of each word ; cf. (q-q : c-q) quinque (*cinque) : cinq ; quinquaginta (*cinquaginta) : cin-

quante. This process, which is the reverse of that described above, is known as *dissimilation*.

Position of Latin Consonants.

§ 174. In studying the Latin consonants it is necessary to take into consideration their position in the word. Thus a consonant may be *initial*, or *medial*, or *final*, as *l* in *labóre*, *sola*, *simul*, or *t* in *térra*, *víta*, *videt*, or *s* in *sóle*, *músa*, *víces*. Further, a medial consonant may be either *intervocal* (i. e. placed between two vowels), as *l* in *sóla*, *t* in *víta*, *s* in *músa*; or '*supported*' (i. e. preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel), as *p* in *témpus*, *t* in *pórta*, *s* in *úrsu*; or *in a group*, i. e. followed by another consonant and preceded, either by a vowel, as *l* in *súlfur*, *t* in *pétra*, *s* in *músca*, or by a consonant, as *b* in *mémbru*, *t* in *ástru*, *p* in *témplu*.

Treatment of Latin Consonants in French—General Laws.

§ 175. The treatment of the Latin consonants on their passage into French depends essentially upon their position in the word. It may be laid down as a general rule (except in the case of the liquids *r*, *l*, and the nasals *m*, *n*, which usually persist, whatever their position in the word), that

- i. Initial consonants (except palatals under certain conditions) remain unchanged in French.
- ii. Medial consonants, when '*supported*,' behave like initial consonants (thus *s* in *úr-su* is in practically the same situation as *s* in *sóle*; so *t* in *pór-ta* and *témpus*).
- iii. Medial consonants between two vowels become more or less weakened according to the family to which they belong, their treatment being to a certain extent characteristic of that family (see §§ 179, 217, &c.).
- iv. Medial consonants, when in a group, either become weakened, or are accommodated if the group is easy of pronunciation, otherwise they disappear.

- v. Final consonants, or consonants which have become final, if they persist and are sounded, are always (with the exception of final *s* before a vowel) hard in French.

§ 176. In studying the treatment of the Latin consonants on their passage into French, the order of classification adopted in the table above (§ 168) will be followed, viz. :—

- i. The *Palatals* **C, G** (with the addition of **X, Q,** and **J**).
- ii. The *Dentals* **T, D, S** (with **Z**).
- iii. The *Labials* **P, B, F, V**.
- iv. The *Liquids* **R, L**, and the *Nasals* **M, N**.

H.

§ 177. The aspirated guttural *h* lost its sound at an early date in popular Latin. In French it has in many cases disappeared entirely, as in *habére*: avoir; *hómo*: on; *hoc-íllu*: oui; *hórdeu*: orge; *hórrida*: orde; *horológiu*: orloge; *hóste*: O. F. ost; *hirúndine*: O. F. aronde. In other cases it remains simply as a graphic sign, being unsounded, as in *hérba*: herbe; *hóra*: heure; *hereditáriu*: héritier; *héri*: hier; *hibérnu*: hiver; *história*: histoire; *hómine*: homme; *honóre*: honneur; *hóspite*: hôte, &c. In cases where it is aspirated (as in *hírpice*: 'herse), the aspiration is recent and is due to the influence of German aspirated *h*. To this cause, doubtless, is also due the addition of *h* (in some cases aspirated, in others not) to words which were without it in Latin, as in *áltu*: 'haut; *ericióné*: 'herisson; *ócto*: 'huit; *ululáre*: 'hurler; *upúpa*: 'huppe; and **agúru*: heur (O. F. *eür*); *arménia*: hermine; *ebúlu*: hièble; *ólea*: huile; *óstiu*: huis; *óstrea*: huitre; &c.

[Note.—i. In the groups *ch, th, ph*, which are of Greek origin (representing χ, θ, ϕ), the *h* was dropped in popular Latin, *ch* becoming *c* (as in *cháрта*: *cárta*; *chólera*: *cólera*; *chórdá*: *córdá*), and *th* becoming *t* (as in *thesáuru*: *tesaúru*; *thrónu*: *trónu*), while *ph* was either replaced by *f* (as in *cóphinu*: *cófinu*), or was

reduced to *p* (as in *cólaphu* : *cólpu*).—ii. The medial *h* in words like *trahir*, *envahir*, is of recent origin, having been introduced to avoid the hiatus caused by the loss of a Latin medial consonant (**tradire* : O. F. *trair*, **invadire* : O. F. *envair*.)

PALATALS.

C, (X), (Q), G, (J)¹.

§ 178. The *Palatals* in Latin are two in number, consisting of two explosives, one voiceless, *c*, one voiced, *g*; to these must be added the double consonant *x* (*c*+*s*), and *q*, which differs from *c* in certain respects, and the consonantal *i*².

	Voiceless.	Voiced.
EXPLOSIVES	C	G

§ 179. The characteristic trait of the palatals is the facility with which they disengage *yod* (see §§ 10, 12), not only when medial between two vowels, but also under several other conditions which will be explained below.

§ 180. The Latin palatals on their passage into French gave rise to two new ones, viz. the voiceless spirant *ch*, corresponding to the voiceless explosive *c*, and the voiced spirant *j* (soft *g*) corresponding to the voiced explosive *g*.

C.

§ 181. Latin *c* was pronounced hard (like English *k*) before all the vowels, as well before *e* and *i* as before *a*, *o*, *u* :—*caput*, *decem* (*dekem*), *faciat* (*fakiat*), *Cicero* (*Kikero*), *collis*, *cura*.

§ 182. The treatment of this *c* in French depends upon the nature of the letter which followed it in Latin, it being treated differently according as it occurs (i.) before *o* or *u*; (ii.) before *a*; (iii.) before *e* or *i*; (iv.) before a consonant.

¹ See §§ 166, 167, i. n.

² See § 213.

C BEFORE O, U.

Initial C before O, U.

§ 183. Initial *c* before *o* or *u* remains unchanged in French:—

cóllu: col; **computáre**: conter; **constáre**: coûter; **cúbitu**: coude; **cultéllu**: couteau; **cúppa**: coupe; **cúra**: cure; **cúrsu**: cours.

[*Note*.—i. In certain French words this *c* has become *g*, the change having already taken place in popular Latin:—**conflare**, ***gonflare**: gonfler; **contu**, ***gontu**: gond; **cucurbita**, ***gucurbita**: gourde; **κόλπο**, ***gúlfu**: gouffre.—ii. Before **au**, when it became *o* in popular Latin, *c* regularly remains unchanged:—**caúda**, ***códa**: queue (*qu* = *c*); but when **au** was pronounced not *o*, but *ao*, the *c* behaved as before *a*, and became *ch* in French (see § 186):—**caúle**, ***caole**: chou; **causa**, **caosa**: chose.]

Medial C before O, U.

§ 184. Medial *c* before *o* or *u* and preceded

- i. By *a*, becomes *g* in French, *yod* being, as a rule, disengaged, which combines with the preceding *a* to form the diphthong *ai*:—

acútu: aigu; ***acutiáre**: aiguiser; **acúcula**: aiguille; ***acuculéntu**: O. F. aiglent; **dracóne**: dragon.

- ii. If it is preceded by any other vowel than *a*, *c* disappears altogether in French:—

praecóniu: prône; **Socóna**: Saône; **secúru**: sûr (O. F. seür); **necúllu**: nul (O. F. neül); **cucúrbita**: gourde (O. F. goourde); ***tacútu**: tu (O. F. teü); ***placútu**: plu (O. F. pleü).

[*Note*.—The words *faconde* (**facúndia**), *cigogne* (**cicónia**), *ciguë* (**cicúta**), *second* (**secúndu**), *fécond* (**fecúndu**), and the like, are of learned or partially learned origin.]

- iii. If it is preceded by a consonant, *c* before *o* or *u* persists in French:—

falcóne: faucon; ***scóculu** (for **scópu**lu): écueil; ***vescútu**: vécu; **scútu**: écu; **scutélla**: écuelle; **incumuláre**: encombrer.

Final C.

§ 185. By the loss of o or u Latin c may become final in French, or in a few cases c may have been already final in Latin.

Final c preceded by a vowel

i. If the vowel be a, e, or i, produces *yod*, which reacts on the preceding vowel:—

fác: fais (O. F. fai); ***verácu**: vrai; **Camerácu**: Cambrai; **Duácu**: Douai; **néc**: ni; **préco**: prie (O. F. pri); **sic**: si; **díc**: dis (O. F. di); **amícu**: ami; **spícu**: épi.

[*Note*.—In **ní** (**née**) and **prie**, O. F. **pri** (**préo**), the *i* is a reduction of *iei*, i.e. *ie* from tonic *e* free (see § 49) + *i* disengaged by the o. In **si** (**sío**), **ami** (**amícu**), &c., the *i* is a reduction of *ii*, i.e. *i* from tonic *i* free (see § 56) + *i* disengaged by the o.]

ii. If the vowel be u, the c disappears altogether:—

festúcu: fétu.

iii. After o final Latin c has persisted in certain cases:—

ab-hóc: avec (O. F. avoec); ***illóc**: O. F. iluec; **ecce-illóc**: O. F. iciluec; **pro-hóc**: O. F. poruec; **non-pro-hóc**: O. F. neporuec; **apud-hóc**: O. F. ovuec.

Final c preceded by a consonant

iv. If the consonant be n or r, persists in French:—

júncu: jonc; ***bláncu**: blanc; ***fráncu**: franc; **árcu**: arc; **pórcu**: porc; ***párcu**: parc; **clér(i)cu**: clerc.

v. Final cc is reduced to single c in French:—

sáccu: sac; **béccu**: bec; **síccu**: sec; ***róccu**: roc; ***búccu**: bouc.

vi. In final **sc** the c develops *yod* in French which combines with the preceding vowel, the s becoming silent:—

násco: nais; **pásco**: pais; **créscu**: crois; **Francéscu**:

François; **díscu**: dais (O. F. dois); ***fríscu**: frais (O. F. frois); **bóscu**: bois; **cognóscu**: connais (O. F. conois).

vii. In final *t*'e

(a) If preceded by a vowel (as in the Latin suffix *-áticu*), the *e* becomes soft *g* in French:—

aetát(i)cu: âge (O. F. *ēage*); **silvát(i)cu**: sauvage; **umbrát(i)cu**: ombrage; **formát(i)cu**: fromage; ***corát(i)cu**: courage; **viát(i)cu**: voyage.

(b) If preceded by a consonant, the *e* becomes *ch* in French (cf. § 187, ii. a.):—

pórt(i)cu: porche; **domést(i)cu**: O. F. *domesche*.

C BEFORE A.

Initial CA.

§ 186. Initial *e* before *a* becomes the voiceless spirant palatal *ch* (see § 168, n.) in French:—

cabállu: cheval; **cadéntia**: chance; **cálce**: chaud; **cálidu**: chaud; **cálva**: chauve; **cámara**: chambre; **camínu**: chemin; **cáncere**: chancre; **cáne**: chien; **cantáre**: chanter; **capíllu**: cheveu; **cáppa**: chape; **cápsa**: chasse; ***cápu**: chef; **carru**: char; **castéllu**: château; **cáttu**: chat.

[*Note*.—i. Before the fourteenth century this initial *ch* was pronounced *tch* in French, just as it is at present in English (*charge*, *check*, *chide*, *chose*, *churl*).—ii. It was one of the characteristic traits of certain of the old French dialects, notably of the Picard, that they retained the hard *e* of initial Latin *ca*; thus instead of *château*, *charité*, *cheval*, &c., the Picards said *castel*, *carité*, *ceval* (pron. *kev*¹), &c. Such words as *camp*, *campagne*, *cape*, *carte* (doublets of *champ*, *champagne*, *chape*, *charte*), which some regard as relics of the old Picard dialect, were more probably due to French intercourse with Italy and Spain.—iii. Words like *cadavre*, *cadence*, *caduc*, *candeur*, *capital*, *captif*, &c., are of course of learned origin.]

¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, Introd. § 8, and Spec. xi, 2, 20, 58, &c.; xxxi, 7, 14, 23, &c.

Medial CA—i. 'supported.'

§ 187. Medial *c* before *a*, and preceded by a consonant, on passing into French behaves in some respects like initial *c* before *a* (see § 186), but under certain conditions it becomes soft *g* instead of *ch*.

i. When *ca* is preceded by a consonant and is final, the *c* becomes *ch* in French :—

búcca: bouche; **vácca**: vache; **sícca**: sèche; **árca**: arche;
fúrca: fourche; **plánca**: planche; **mán(i)ca**: manche;
tínca: tanche; ***diamín(i)ca**: dimanche; ***lusca**: louche;
músca: mouche; **pérs(i)ca**: pêche (O. F. pesche); **pért(i)ca**:
 perche.

[*Note*.—In **sér(i)ca**: serge, and **péd(i)ca**: piège, this *c* has become *g* in French.]

ii. When *ca* is preceded by a consonant and is the tonic syllable, the *c* becomes *ch* or soft *g* in French.

(a) It becomes *ch* when contact with the preceding consonant existed in Latin, and also in certain cases when the contact was of Romanic origin (i. e. was caused by the loss of an atonic vowel) :—

peccátu: péché; **mercátu**: marché; **circáre**: chercher;
piscáre: pêcher (O. F. pescher); ***falcáre**: faucher; ***triccáre**:
 tricher; **buccáriu**: boucher; ***muccáre**: moucher; **infurcáre**:
 enfourcher; **coll(o)cáre**: coucher; **mast(i)cáre**: mâcher;
caball(i)cáre: chevaucher; **pend(i)cáre**: pencher; **excoort(i)-**
cáre: écorcher; ***tort(i)cáre**: torcher; ***abrad(i)cáre**: ar-
 racher.

(b) It becomes soft *g* only when contact with the preceding consonant was of Romanic origin :—

carr(i)cáre: charger; **fabr(i)cáre**: forger; **jud(i)cáre**: juger;
mand(u)cáre: manger; **vind(i)cáre**: venger; **cler(i)cátu**:
 clergé; ***berb(i)cáriu**: berger.

Medial CA—ii. preceded by vowel.

§ 188. If **ca** be preceded

i. By **a**, **e**, or **i**, the **c** is transformed into *yod* in French :—
báca: baïe; **bráca**: braïe; **pacáre**: payer; **théca**: taïe;
décanu: doyen; **necáre**: noyer; **precáre**: O. F. *proïer*
 (prier); **plicáre**: ployer; **implicáre**: employer.

[*Note*.—In *amie* (**amíca**), *fourmi* (**formíca**), *mie* (**míca**), *pie* (**píca**), *vessie* (**vessíca**), the *i* is a reduction of *ii*, i. e. *i* from tonic *i* free (see § 56) + *i* disengaged by the **o** (cf. § 185, i. *n.*).]

ii. If **ca** be preceded by **o** or **u**, the **c** disappears altogether in French :—

jocáre: jouer; **locáre**: louer; **advocátu**: avoué; **focácia**:
 fouace; **carrúca**: charrue; **lactúca**: laitue; **verrúca**:
 verrue.

C BEFORE E, I.*Initial C before E, I.*

§ 189. Initial **c** before **e** or **i** (pronounced **k**; see § 181) becomes hard **s** (written *c*) in French :—

celáre: céler; **céntu**: cent; **céra**: cire; **cérvu**: cerf; **caélu**:
 ciel; **caementu**: ciment; **cínere**: cendre; **civitáte**: cité.

[*Note*.—i. Before the fourteenth century this initial *c* was pronounced *ts* in French (as in Eng. *tsar*); its present pronunciation dates from the same period as the modern pronunciation of initial *ch*, which was previously sounded *tch* (see § 186, *n. i.*).—ii. In *chercher* (**círcáre**) initial **o** has become *ch* by assimilation with the medial *ch*; the O. F. form was regularly *cerchier*.]

Medial C before E, I—i. 'supported.'

§ 190. Medial **c** before **e** or **i** and preceded by a consonant becomes, like initial **c** (§ 189), hard **s** (written *c* or *ss*) in French :—

mercéde: merci; **pull(i)cénu**: poussin; **pul(i)célla**: pucelle;
porcéllu: pourceau; **mont(i)céllu**: monceau; ***baccínu**:

bassin; **eccéllu**: O. F. icel; ***eccistu**: O. F. icest; **occidere**: O. F. ocire.

[*Note*.—***Cul(i)ofnu** gives cousin ('gnat').]

§ 191. If the preceding consonant be **s**, the **c** of the group **sc** develops *yod* in French, which combines with the preceding vowel:—

nascénte: naissant; **pascénte**: paissant; **vascéllu**: vaisseau; ***fascéllu**: faisceau (O. F. faissel); **crescénte**: croissant; **cognoscénte**: connaissant (O. F. conoissant).

Medial C before E, I—ii. preceded by vowel.

§ 192. Medial **c** before **e** or **i** and preceded by a vowel becomes soft **s** (see § 218) in French, *yod* being disengaged, which combines with the preceding vowel:—

placére: plaisir; **jacére**: gésir; **tacénte**: taisant; **racému**: raisin; **licére**: loisir; **vicínu**: voisin; **nocénte**: nuisant; **lucénte**: luisant; **aucéllu**: oiseau; ***cocína**: cuisine; ***bucína**: O. F. buisine; **pacíbile**: paisible.

§ 193. When **c** preceded by a vowel occurred in Latin before atonic **e** or **i**, which, in obedience to the law (§ 22), disappeared in French, it underwent two distinct transformations, according to the conditions under which the atonic **e** or **i** disappeared.

- i. If atonic **e** or **i** disappeared before the sibilant of the **c**, the latter formed group with the following consonant, and was converted into *yod* in French, which combined with the preceding vowel (see § 12, i.):—

fác(e)re: faire; **tác(e)re**: taire; **plác(e)re**: plaire; **plác(i)tu**: O. F. plait.

- ii. If atonic **e** or **i** disappeared after the sibilant of the **c**, the latter disengaged *yod*, and persisted as **s**, which in modern French disappeared in obedience to the law stated below (see § 239):—

H

grácile: grêle (O. F. *graisle*); **décima**: dîme (O. F. *disme*);
***cícinu**: cygne (O. F. *cisne*); **plácet**: plaît (O. F. *plaist*);
jácet: gît (O. F. *gist*); **nócet**: nuit (O. F. *nuist*); **condúcit**:
 conduit (O. F. *-duist*); **lúcet**: luit (O. F. *luist*).

C before E, I—final.

§ 194. When **c** occurs before final **e** or **i**

i. If preceded by a consonant, it becomes, as a rule, hard **s** in French (sometimes written *c*):—

hírp(i)cē: herse; **pánt(i)cē**: panse; **póllice**: pouce; **pú-l(i)cē**: puce; **rúm(i)cē**: ronce; **púm(i)cē**: ponce.

ii. If the preceding consonant be **d**, the **c** becomes soft **s** (written *ç*) in French:—

únd(e)cī: onze; **duód(e)cī**: douze; **tréd(e)cī**: treize; **quín-d(e)cī**: quinze; **séd(e)cī**: seize.

[*Note*.—In all these words, *herse*, *panse*, *onze*, *douze*, &c., the final *e* occurs as ‘supporting vowel’ (see § 23, iii.) in order to facilitate the pronunciation of the final consonantal groups.]

iii. If preceded by a vowel, the **c** disengages *yod*, and becomes soft **s** (mostly written *x*) in French, which is not sounded:—

páce: paix; **nidáce**: niais; **déce**: dix; **více**: fois; **píce**: poix; ***berbíce**: brebis; **perdíce**: perdrix; **vóce**: voix; **crúce**: croire; **núce**: noir.

[*Note*.—In O. F. this final *s* or *x* was written *z* (pronounced *ts*): *brebiz*, *paiz*, *diz*, *croiz*, *noiz*, &c., which proves that it was soft *s*; this is further apparent in the derivatives *dizaine*, *croisade*, *noisette*, &c.]

C before yod—CIA, CIO, CIU.

§ 195. When followed by *yod* (i. e. by *i* in hiatus) **c** combines with it and is transformed into hard **s** (also written *c* or *ss*) in French, no further *yod* being disengaged. This law holds good of the groups **cia**, **cio**, **ciu**, whether they be medial (either ‘supported’ or preceded by vowel) or final.

i. Medial *cia*, *cio*, *ciu* :—

**arcióne* : arçon ; **ham(i)cióne* : hameçon ; **aciáriu* : acier ;
 **mación* : maçon ; *faciámus* : fassions (O. F. fassons).

[*Note*.—In *aucióne* : *oison* the irregular transformation is accounted for by the analogy of *aúca* : *oie*, *aucéllu* : *oiseau*.]

ii. Final *cia* :—

fáciám : fasse ; **fácia* (for *facie*) : face ; **glacia* (for *glacie*) :
 glace ; **minácia* : menace ; *pellicia* : pelisse ; **junícia* : ge-
 nisse.

[*Note*.—The subjunctives *plaise*, *taise* do not come from *pláceam*,
táceam (which would have given *place*, *tace*, just as *fáciám* gives
fasse, O. F. *face*), but have been formed on the analogy of *plais*, *tais*.]

iii. Final *cio*, *ciu* :—

**bráciu* (for *bracchiu*) : bras ; **láciu* (for *laquen*) : lacs ;
soláciu : soulas ; **excaráciu* : échalas ; *facticiu* : O. F. *faitiz*
 (*faitice*) ; *tracticiu* : O. F. *traitiz* ; *fáció* : O. F. *faz*.

[*Note*.—i. The modern *fais* (1st pers.) is formed on the analogy of
fais (2nd pers.) ; O. F. *faz* was formed regularly.—ii. The final *s* in
bras, *lacs*, &c., is proved to have been pronounced hard by derivatives
 such as *embrasser*, *brassée*, *lacet*, &c.]

C BEFORE CONSONANT.

Initial Groups : **CR**, **CL**.

§ 196. The initial groups **cr** and **cl** remain, as a rule, un-
 changed in French :—

crédere : *croire* ; *créta* : *craie* ; *críspu* : *crêpe* ; *críbru* :
crible ; *crústa* : *croûte* ; *crúdu* : *cru* ; *cláve* : *clef* ; *cláru* :
clair ; *claústru* : *cloître* ; *claúdere* : *clore*.

[*Note*.—In certain French words initial **cr**, **cl** have become *gr*, *gl*,
 a change which had already taken place in popular Latin (cf. § 183,
n. i.) :—*orássu* : *gras* ; *oraticula* : *grille* ; *crúpta* : *grotte* ; **clássu*
 (for *clássicu*) : *glas*.]

*Medial Groups : CR, CL, CT, CS (X).**Medial CR.*

§ 197. In the medial group *cr*

i. The *c* either becomes *g* in French and disengages *yod*:—

ácre: aigre; alácre: allègre (O. F. alaigre); vinu-ácre: vinaigre; mácrú: maigre.

ii. Or it is reduced to *yod* simply:—

lácrima: O. F. lairme (larme); sacraméntu: O. F. sairement (serment); fá(c)e(re): faire; plác(e)re: plaire; tá(c)e(re): taire; *cóc(e)re (for coquere): cuire; nóc(e)re: nuire; lú(c)e(re): luire.

iii. If the medial group *cr* is preceded by *n*, it remains unchanged in French:—

ánc(o)ra: ancre; vínc(e)re: vaincre; cáncru: chancre (cf. § 198, iii.).

Medial CL.

§ 198. In the medial group *cl*

i. If it comes after the tonic syllable, the *c* becomes *yod* in French, which liquefies the *l* (written *il*, *ill*):—

mác(u)la: maille; *vec'lu (for vétulu): vieil; *síc'la (for situla): seille; auríc(u)la: oreille; *buttíc(u)la: bouteille; *lentíc(u)la: lentille; caníc(u)la: chenille; solíc(u)lu: soleil; paríc(u)lu: pareil; períc(u)lu: péril; óc(u)lu: œil; tóre(u)lu: treuil; fenú(c)lu: fenouil.

[*Note*.—i. On genú(c)lu: *genou*, *pedú(c)lu: *pou*, verrú(c)lu: *verrou* see § 63, ii. *n*.—ii. The words *miracle* (mirác(u)lu), *siècle* (saéc(u)lu) are of learned origin.]

ii. If it comes before the tonic syllable and is preceded by a vowel, *cl* becomes *gl* in French:—

ecclésia: église; *ac(u)lentáriu: églantier; matric(u)láriu: O. F. marreglier (marguillier); buc(u)láre: beugler.

iii. If it is preceded by *n*, the group *cl* remains unchanged in French :—

avínc(u)lu : *oncle* ; **carbúnc(u)lu** : *escarboucle* (cf. § 197, iii.).

iv. If it is preceded by *s*, the *c* disappears from the group *scl* (which in modern French also loses *s* according to the rule stated below, § 239) :—

másc(u)lu : *mâle* (O. F. *masle*) ; **misc(u)láre** : *mêler* (O. F. *mesler*) ; **músc(u)lu** : *moule* (O. F. *mousle*) ; ***fiss(i)c(u)láre** : *fêler* (O. F. *fesler*).

Medial CT.

§ 199. In the medial group *ct*, the *c* is transformed into *yod* in French, which combines with the preceding vowel to form diphthong :—

fáctu : *fait* ; **lácte** : *lait* ; **plác(i)tu** : *plaid* ; **tractáre** : *traiter* ; **téctu** : *toit* ; **léctu** : *lit* ; **nócte** : *nuit* ; **ócto** : *huit* ; **frúctu** : *fruit* ; **condúcta** : *conduite*.

The same happens when medial *ct* is preceded by *n* :—

sáncctu : *saint* ; **pláncctu** : *plaint* ; ***fíncctu** : *feint* ; **tíncctu** : *teint* ; **júncctu** : *joint* ; **púncctu** : *point* (cf. § 208, ii. *n. i.*).

Medial CS (X).

§ 200. Medial *cs*, i. e. *x*, becomes hard *s* (written sometimes *ss* or *x*) in French, and disengages *yod*, which combines with the preceding vowel :—

áxe : *ais* ; **axílla** : *aisselle* ; **maxílla** : O. F. *maisselle* ; **laxáre** : *laisser* ; **séx** : *six* (O. F. *sis*) ; **sexagínta** : *soixante* (O. F. *soissante*) ; **cóxa** : *cuisse* ; **búxu** : *buis* ; **fráxínu** : *frêne* (O. F. *fraisne*).

[*Note*.—i. In certain cases *cs* has by transposition become *sc*, which has been treated in the usual way (as in **flascóne** : *flacon*, O. F. *flarcon*, § 239) :—**láxa** (i. e. **lasca*) : *lâche* (O. F. *lasche*) ; **táxa** (i. e. **tasca*) : *tâche* (O. F. *tasche*) ; **mýxa** (i. e. **misca*) : *mêche* (O. F. *mesche*).—ii. In certain other cases *x* (*cs*) by the loss of *c* has been reduced to simple *s* (or *ss*) in French, notably in the case of

words compounded with the preposition **ex**:—**exámen**: essaim; **exágiu**: essai; **uxóre**: O. F. oissor; ***exaltiáre**: exaucer (O. F. essaucier); **exclúsa**: écluse (O. F. escluse); **exténdere**: étendre (O. F. estendre); ***extonáre**: étonner (O. F. estonner); **extráneu**: étrange (O. F. estrange); ***juxtare**: joûter (O. F. joster); **sextáriu**: setier (O. F. sestier); ***dextráriu**: O. F. destrier.]

Q.

§ 201. Latin **q** differs from **c** in that it is always accompanied by the labial semi-vowel **u**. This labial element, which has disappeared from French (except in the case of learned words), was still pronounced in popular Latin.

Initial QU.

§ 202. Initial **qu** becomes hard **c** (written **c** or **qu**) in French:—

quare: car; **quále**: *quel*; **quam**: *que*; **quándo**: *quand*; **quártu**: *quart*; **quassáre**: casser; ***quadrilióne**: carillon; **queréla**: *querelle*; ***quétu**: *coi*; **quaerére**: *quérir*; **qui**: *qui*; **quintu**: *quint*; **quómodo**: *comme*; **quóta**: *cote*.

[*Note*.—In **quínque**: *cinq*, **quinquagínta**: *cinquante*, the change from **q** to **c** had already taken place (by dissimilation) in popular Latin ***cínque**, ***cinquánta**.—ii. In **querquédula**: *sarcelle*, initial **qu** was first reduced to soft **c** in popular Latin ***cercedula**.—iii. In **quisque-unus**: *chacun* (O. F. chascun) there must have been an intermediate popular form ***quascunus**, whence ***cascunus** (see § 186).]

Medial QU.

§ 203. Medial **qu** on passing into French undergoes, as a rule, either one or the other of the following transformations:

- i. The **q** disengages *yod*, while the labial element **u** is consonantalised into *v*:—

équa: O. F. aive (eau); **équa**: O. F. ive; ***séquere**: O. F. suivre (suivre); **antíqua**: O. F. antive.

ii. The labial element *u* disappears, and *q* becomes *g* (with or without disengagement of *yod*):—

áquila: aigle; **aquária**: aiguière; **aequále**: égal.

[*Note*.—Semivocalic *u* has disappeared in other cases as well, e. g.

***báttere** (for **battuere**): battre; ***quáttor** (for **quattuor**): quatre;

***febráriu** (for **februariu**): février; ***aestáriu** (for **aestuariu**): étier;

***mórta** (for **mortua**): morte; ***cósere** (for **consuere**): coudre, &c.]

G.

§ 204. Latin *g* was pronounced hard (like English *gh*) before all the vowels, as well before *e* and *i*, as before *a*, *o*, *u*:—**Gallia**, **gentes** (**ghentes**), **gigas** (**ghigas**), **gobio**, **gula**.

Initial G.

§ 205. The treatment of initial Latin *g* in French varies according as it occurs: (i.) before *o* or *u*; (ii.) before *a*, *e*, or *i*; (iii.) before a consonant

i. Initial *g* before *o* or *u* remains unchanged in French:—**gobióne**: goujon; **gubernáre**: gouverner; **gúla**: gueule; **gústu**: goût; **gútta**: goutte.

ii. Initial *g* before *a*, *e*, or *i* becomes the voiced spirant *j* (see § 168 *n.*) in French, which is usually written *g*, except before *a*:—

gámba: jambe; **gálbinu**: jaune; **gallína**: geline; **gaudére**: jouir; **géneru**: gendre; **genúculu**: genou; **génte**: gent; **gigánte**: géant; ***gincíva**: gencive.

[*Note*.—Before the fourteenth century this initial *j* (or soft *g*) was pronounced *dj* in French, just as it is at present in English:—*jam*, *gem*, *germ*, *ginger*, &c.]

iii. Initial *g*, in combination with the liquids *r* and *l*, forms the groups **gr**, **gl** in Latin, which remain unchanged in French:—

gránu: grain; **gránde**: grand; **gróssu**: gros; **glánde**: gland; **glória**: gloire; ***gluttóne**: glouton.

Medial G—i. 'supported.'

§ 206. Medial **g** preceded by a consonant behaves in French like initial **g**.

i. Before **o** or **u** it remains unchanged :—

angústia : angoisse ; **anguílla** : anguille ; **Burgúndia** : Bourgogne ; **unguéntu** : onguent.

ii. Before **a**, **e**, or **i** it becomes soft **g** :—

purgáre : purger ; **vírga** : verge ; **lárga** : large ; **ingéníu** : engin ; **argéntu** : argent ; **argílla** : argile.

[*Note.*—The word *longue*, feminine of *long* (*lóngu*), comes not from *lónga*, but from **lóngua*, just as *langue* comes from *língua*.]

Medial G—ii. intervocal.

§ 207. Medial **g** between two vowels

i. Becomes *yod* in French if neither of the contiguous vowels is **o** or **u** :—

plága : plaie ; **ossifrága** : orfraie ; **legále** : loyal ; **regále** : royal ; **pagánu** : pañen ; **ligámen** : lien ; **ligáre** : lier ; **negáre** : nier ; **vágina** : gaine ; **regína** : reine ; **magístru** : maître.

[*Note.*—i. When the vowel following the **g** is **i**, the *yod* in French is absorbed in it, as in *reine*, *gaine*, *maître*.—ii. The numerals *viginti*, *triginta*, *quadráginta*, &c., whence *vingt*, *trente*, *quarante*, &c., had already lost medial **g** in popular Latin, **vínti*, **trénta*, **quadránta*, &c.]

ii. If either of the contiguous vowels is **o** or **u**, medial **g** disappears altogether in French :—

***agúriu** : heur (O. F. *eür*) ; ***agústu** : août ; **rúga** : rue ; **sanguisúga** : sangsue ; **legúmen** : O. F. *leün*.

[*Note.*—The modern *legume* is of learned formation.]

Medial G—iii. before consonant

in the Medial Groups : **GR**, **GL**, **GT**, **GD**, **GN**.

Medial GR.

§ 208. In the medial group **gr**, the **g**

i. Either disappears altogether in French :—

pigrítia: paresse; **peregrínu**: pèlerin; ***integrínu**: O. F. enterin.

ii. Or is converted into *yod*:—

fragráre: flairer; **nígru**: noir; **lég(e)re**: lire; **Líg(e)re**: Loire; ***brág(e)re**: braire; **pláng(e)re**: plaindre; **infrán-g(e)re**: enfreindre; **píng(e)re**: peindre.

[*Note*.—i. In **pláng(e)re**: *plaindre*, **píng(e)re**: *peindre*, &c., the *yod* developed by **g** in the group **ng'r** has been thrown back, and has combined with the tonic vowel.—ii. In **térg(e)re**: O. F. *terdre*, **súrg(e)re**: *sourdre*, the **g** in the group **rg'r** has disappeared, leaving **r'r** which by the intercalation of *d* becomes *rdr* in French (see § 278 i., n. ii.).]

Medial GL.

§ 209. In the medial group **gl**, the **g** is converted into *yod* in French:—

frág(i)le: O. F. *fraile* (*frêle*); **vig(i)láre**: veiller; **coag(u)láre**: cailler;

but **gl** preceded by **n**, forming the group **ngl**, remains unchanged in French:—

áng(u)lu: *angle*; **úng(u)la**: *ongle*; **cíng(u)la**: *sangle*; **sin-g(u)láre**: *sanglier*; ***sang(ui)léntu**: *sanglant*.

[*Note*.—The word *règle* (**régula**) is of learned origin. In **tégula**: O. F. *teule* (*tuile*), **régula**: O. F. *reule*, the **g** has disappeared, perhaps on the analogy of intervocal **g**, as in **legúmen**: O. F. *leün*, ***agústu**: *aóút*, &c. (see § 207, ii.).]

Medial GT, GD.

§ 210. In the medial groups **gt** and **gd**, the **g** is converted into *yod* in French:—

díg(i)tu: *doigt* (O. F. *doit*); **fríg(i)du**: *froid*; **ríg(i)du**: *roide* (O. F. *roit*).

Medial GN.

§ 211. In the medial group **gn**, the **g** is converted into *yod* in French, which either liquefies the **n** or combines with the preceding vowel without liquefying the **n**:—

(a) **agnéllu**: agneau; **Carolu-mágnu**: Charlemagne; **Turre-máгна**: Tour-magne; **dignére**: daigner; **insígnu**: enseigne.

(b) **púgnu**: poin(g); **sígnu**: sein(g); **stágnu**: étain (see § 333, note ii.).

Final G.

§ 212. When it becomes final in French, **g**

i. If preceded by a vowel, is converted into *yod*:—
lége: loi; **rége**: roi.

ii. If preceded by a consonant, it remains in French, but is not sounded, except in liaison:—
lóngu: long; ***sángue**: sang.

[*Note*.—In O. F. this final **g** became *c*, as in *lonc*, *sanc*, which is the sound it has at the present when in liaison.]

J.

J (*Consonantal I*).

§ 213. By **j** is represented the consonantal (or semi-vocalic) Latin **i**, which has the sound of English *y* in *yacht*, or of German *j* in *jahr*. Though now usually written **j** when initial (**jam**, **jocus**, **junior**), and often when medial (**ejus**, **pejus**, **major**), it was originally written **i** wherever it occurred in Latin.

[*Note*.—Quintilian refers (*Inst. Orat.* i. 6) to the identity of Latin **i** and **j**. In MSS., and even in printed books down to the middle of the seventeenth century, the two letters were used indifferently. It was not until the year 1750 that the French Academy admitted *j* into their Dictionary as an independent letter.]

Initial J.

§ 214. Initial **j** becomes *j* (soft *g*) in French:—
jactáre: jeter; **jacére**: gésir; ***jacita**: gîte; **jejunáre**: jeûner; **jócu**: jeu; **judice**: juge; **júngere**: joindre; **júvene**: jeune.

Medial J—intervocal.

§ 215. Medial *j* between two vowels develops *yod* in French, which usually combines with the preceding vowel:—

Máju: Mai; **trója**: truie; **bója**: buie; **máju**: maire; **péju**: pire; **pejus**: pis; **bajuláre**: O. F. bailler.

[*Note*.—In **jejunáre**: *jeûner*, medial *j* between *e* and *u* has disappeared in French, like medial *c* and *g* under similar conditions (see §§ 184, ii.; 207, ii.).]

*DENTALS.***T, D, S, (Z).**

§ 216. The *Dentals* in Latin (leaving aside the liquids *r*, *l*, and the nasal *n*) are three in number, consisting of two explosives, one voiceless, *t*; one voiced, *d*; and one voiceless spirant, *s*; to these must be added the compound consonant *z* (*ds*).

[*Note*.—The voiceless spirant *s* is also termed *sibilant*, from the whistling sound emitted during its pronunciation.]

	Voiceless.	Voiced.
EXPLOSIVES	T	D
SPIRANT	S	

§ 217. The two explosives, *t* and *d*, have a trait in common which is characteristic of the dental group, and which is peculiar to French among the Romance languages, viz. that when they occur as medials between two vowels, they disappear altogether in French.

§ 218. The Latin dentals on their passage into French gave rise to an additional one, viz. a voiced spirant *s* (as in *maison*, *douzaine*, or Eng. *brāsen*). This soft *s* is indicated by the sign *z*—not to be confounded with Latin *z*, a sign

borrowed from the Greek, the sound of which (*ds*) has not been preserved in French (see § 243).

T.

Initial T.

§ 219. Initial *t* remains unchanged in French:—

tántu: tant; **térra**: terre; **týmpanu**: timbre; **tonsióne**: toison; **túrre**: tour; **trés**: trois; **tráctu**: trait.

[*Note*.—An exceptional change of initial *t* into *c* in French has taken place in **trémere**: craindre (O. F. *criembre*).]

Medial T—i. 'supported.'

§ 220. Medial *t* 'supported,' as a rule remains unchanged in French:—

cantáre: chanter; **cárta**: charte; **virtúte**: vertu; **rúpta**: route; **saltáre**: sauter; **vól(u)ta**: vouïte; **fáll(i)ta**: faute; **mat(u)tínu**: matin; **rénd(i)ta**: rente.

[*Note*.—Medial *t* preceded by the labial *b*, or the palatals *c*, *g*, or by *yod*, is changed into *d* in French:—**cúb(i)tu**: coude; **cucúrb(i)ta**: gourde; **sub(i)tánu**: soudain; **male-háb(i)tu**: malade; **plao(i)táre**: plaider; **cogi(t)áre**: cuider; **ai(u)táre**: aider. An exception is **dub(i)táre**: douter, where the substitution of *t* for *d* (*douder*) is doubtless due to dissimilation.]

Medial T—ii. intervocal.

§ 221. Medial *t* between two vowels disappears altogether in French:—

natívu: naïf; **matúru**: mûr (O. F. *meûr*); **cicúta**: ciguë; **acúta**: aiguë; **armáta**: armée; **dotáta**: douée; **mútare**: muer; **oblitáre**: oublier; **imperatóre**: empereur (O. F. *empereûr*); **cantatóre**: chanteur (O. F. *chanteûr*); ***habúta**: eue (O. F. *eûe*); ***aetáticu**: âge (O. F. *eâge*); **rotúndu**: rond (O. F. *reönd*).

[*Note*.—i. Before disappearing, this *t* was softened to *d*, a change which had already been effected in popular Latin; before the twelfth

century the *d* was preserved in French¹, but towards the beginning of that century it disappeared. Thus from class. Lat. *armáta*, *mutáre*, we get pop. Lat. **armada*, **mudare*, whence the early French forms *armede*, *muder*, which, by loss of the medial *d*, were reduced to the modern forms *armée*, *muer*.—ii. The words *tout*, *toute*, *glouton*, *bouteille*, &c. come from popular Latin **tóttu*, **tótta*, **gluttóne*, **buttioula*, not direct from *tótu*, *glutóne*, &c.—iii. Words like *naïf*, *doter*, *voter*, &c., in which the intervocal *t* has been retained, are of learned formation, their popular forms being *naïf*, *douer*, *vouer*, &c.]

Medial T—iii. before consonant.

Medial *t*, in combination with the liquids *r* and *l*, forms the groups *tr* and *tl*.

§ 222. The medial group *tr*

i. If preceded by a consonant, remains unchanged in French:—

litt(e)ra: *lettre*; *mitt(e)re*: *mettre*; *alabástru*: *albâtre*; *pást(o)r*: *pâtre*; *óstrea*: *huître*; *capístru*: *chevêtre*; *ál(t)e(r)n*: *autre*; *últra*: *outré*.

ii. If preceded by a vowel it is reduced by assimilation to *r* or *rr* (originally *dr*) in French:—

pátre: *père* (O. F. *pedre*); *frátre*: *frère* (O. F. *fredre*); *it'(e)rre*: *errer* (O. F. *edrer*); *pétra*: *pierre*; *nutríre*: *nourrir* (O. F. *nodrir*); *latróne*: *larron*; *petróne*: *perron*.

§ 223. The medial group *tl* is reduced by assimilation to *l* in French:—

rót(u)lu: *rôle*; **corrot(u)láre*: *crouler*; *Rot(o)lándu*: *Roland*; *spát(u)la*: *épaule*.

[*Note*.—i. French *vieil*, *seille*, come not from *vét(u)lu*, *sít(u)la*, but from popular Latin **véolu*, **síola* (see § 198, i).—ii. Words like *tít(u)lu*: *titre*, *capít(u)lu*: *chapitre*, *apóst(o)lu*: *apôtre*, *epíst(o)la*: *épître*, are of learned origin.]

¹ For instance in the *Life of St. Alexis* (eleventh century): 'Toz est mudez, perdude at sa color.' (See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, Spec. iv. 4.)

§ 224. Medial *t*, whether 'supported' or not, disappears in French

i. Before palatals:—

viát(i)cu: voyage; **ramát(i)cu**: ramage; **pért(i)ca**: perche;
pórt(i)cu: porche; **domést(i)cu**: O. F. domeschē.

ii. Before nasals:—

plát(a)nu: plane; **rét(i)na**: rēne; **sept(i)mána**: semaine;
art(e)mísia: armoise.

Final T.

§ 225. Final *t* in Latin, or *t* which has become final in French

i. If preceded by a consonant, persists:—

dórm(i)t: dort; **tén(e)t**: tient; **vív(i)t**: vit; **déb(e)t**: doit;
plác(e)t: plaît; **jác(e)t**: gît; **díg(i)tu**: doigt; **áltu**: haut;
léctu: lit; **véntu**: vent; **sépte**: sept; **desértu**: désert;
fúste: fût.

[*Note*.—Words like *aime*, from **ám(e)t**, are due to analogy; in O. F. we find the regular form *aint* from **ám(e)t**.]

ii. If preceded by a vowel, it disappears:—

armátu: armé; **prátu**: pré; **bonitáte**: bonté; **audítu**: ouï;
virtúte: vertu; **scútu**: écu; **ámat**: aime; **cántat**: chante.

[*Note*.—i. This final *t* did not disappear in French until the twelfth century. In the *Life of St. Alexis* and the *Chanson de Roland* (both of the eleventh century¹) such forms as *citet*, *gret*, *pret*, *piliel*, *bontet*, *portet*, *perdut*, *pluret* (**plórat**), *plurt* (**ploret**), &c., are of common occurrence.—ii. In **síte** (**sitim**): *soif*, final *t* has been replaced by *f*, which however only dates from the fifteenth century. The O. F. form was regularly *soi*.—iii. Final *t* in combination with flexional *s* in O. F. resulted in *z* (sounded *ts*), which in modern French is written *s* (**látus**: lès, O. F. *lez*; **prátos**: prés, O. F. *prez*) except in 2nd pers. plur. of verbs (**plorátis**: pleurez) and in the adverb **ad-sátis**: assez.]

¹ Extracts from these two poems are given in *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. iv, v).

T before yod.

§ 226. The medial group *tj* (i. e. *t*+*yod* resulting from *i* or *e* in hiatus)

- i. If preceded by a consonant, is converted into hard *s* (written *ss* or *c*) in French, the *yod* not being disengaged:—

captiäre: chasser; **directiäre**: dresser; **tractiäre**: tracer;
linteólu: linceul; **infántia**: enfance; **cadéntia**: chance;
redemptióne: rançon; **factióne**: façon; **núptia**: noce; **nép-
 tia**: nièce; **corruptiäre**: courroucer; **fórtia**: force.

[*Note*.—In **frustiäre**: *froisser*, **angústia**: *angoisse*, a *yod* has been disengaged owing to the conversion (by assimilation) of the group *stj* into *ssj* (see § 242).]

- ii. If it is preceded by a vowel, and comes after the tonic syllable, it is similarly converted into hard *s* (written *ss* or *c*) in French:—

plátea: place; **pétia**: pièce; ***mátea**: masse; **laetítia**: liesse;
mollítia: mollesse; **justítia**: justesse.

- iii. If it is preceded by a vowel, but comes before the tonic syllable, it becomes soft *s* (pronounced like *z* in *douzaine*; see § 218) in French, and *yod* is disengaged, which combines with the preceding vowel:—

otiósu: oiseux; **potióne**: poison; **titióne**: tison; **ratione**:
 raison; **ligatióne**: liaison; **pretiäre**: priser; ***acutiäre**:
 aiguiser; ***minutiáriu**: menuisier.

[*Note*.—Words like *nation*, *station*, *condition*, *addition*, &c., are of learned origin.]

§ 227. When *t* before *yod* becomes final, it produces a soft *s* in French, which is not sounded, and *yod* is disengaged, which combines with the preceding vowel:—

palátíu: palais; **prétíu**: prix; **púteu**: pui(t)s; ***poteo**: puis.

[*Note*.—The word *espace* (**spátíu**) is of learned origin.]

D.

Initial D.

§ 228. Initial **d** remains unchanged in French :—
dámu: *dáim*; **dénte**: *dent*; **dícere**: *dire*; **dormíre**: *dor-*
mir; **dúru**: *dur*; **dracóne**: *dragon*; **diréctu**: *droit*.

Medial D—i. 'supported.'

§ 229. Medial **d** 'supported,' like initial **d**, remains unchanged in French :—

ardénte: *ardent*; **vendénte**: *vendant*; **cál(i)da**: *chaude*;
tép(i)da: *tiède*; **ríg(i)da**: *roide*; **sol(i)dáre**: *souder*.

Medial D.—ii. *intervocal*.

§ 230. Medial **d** between two vowels disappears altogether in French :—

crudéle: *cruel*; **medúlla**: *moelle*; **excadére**: *échoir* (O. F. *-éoir*); **credéntia**: *créance*; **sedére**: *seoir* (O. F. *séoir*);
vidére: *voir* (O. F. *véoir*); **laudére**: *louer*; **caúda**: *queue*;
préda: *proie*; **crúda**: *crue*.

[*Note*.—This **d**, like that resulting from medial intervocal **t** (§ 221, *n. i.*), disappeared about the beginning of the twelfth century. In texts of the eleventh century, forms such as *vedeir*, *sedeir*, are common.]

Medial D—iii. *before consonant*.

Medial **d** in combination with the liquids **r** and **l**, forms the groups **dr** and **dl**.

§ 231. The medial group **dr** (cf. medial **tr**, § 222)

i. If preceded by a consonant, remains unchanged in French :—

vénd(e)re: *vendre*; **fínd(e)re**: *fendre*; **mórd(e)re**: *mordre*;
pérd(e)re: *perdre*.

ii. If preceded by a vowel, it is reduced by assimilation to **r** or **rr** in French :—

rid(e)re: rire; **claud(e)re**: clore; **créd(e)re**: croire; **quadragésima**: carême; **illa-héd(e)ra**: lierre; **quadrátu**: carré; **ad-rétro**: arrière.

§ 232. The medial group **dl** is reduced by assimilation to **l** or **ll** (cf. medial **tl**, § 223):—

mód(u)lu: moule; **querquéd(u)la**: sarcelle.

[*Note*.—The word *cédule* (**schéd(u)la**) is of learned origin.]

Medial **d**, whether ‘supported’ or not, disappears in French

i. Before the dentals **t**, **s**, and the nasals **m**, **n**:—

rénd(i)ta: rente; **vénd(i)ta**: vente; **pérd(i)ta**: perte; **ad-sátis**: assez; **ad-securáre**: assurer; ***ad-mórsa**: amorce; **ad-mónte**: amont; **Ród(a)nu**: Rhône.

ii. Before the palatal **c** and the labial **v**:—

mand(u)cáre: manger; **rad(i)cína**: racine; **adveníre**: avenir; **ad-valle**: aval; **ad-vísu**: avis; **ad-votáre**: avouer; **advocátu**: avoué.

Final D.

§ 233. When it becomes final in French **d**

i. If preceded by a consonant, persists in the shape of **t** (usually written **d** in modern French):—

vír(i)de: vert; **de-únde**: dont; **subínde**: souvent; **gránde**: grand (O. F. *grant*); **fúndu**: fond; **tardu**: tard (O. F. *tart*); **cál(i)du**: chaud (O. F. *chaut*); **fríg(i)du**: froid (O. F. *froit*).

[*Note*.—The final dental in words like *chaud*, *tard*, *grand*, though written **d**, has the sound of **t** before a vowel, e. g. *grand homme* is pronounced *grant-homme*.]

ii. If preceded by a vowel, it disappears in French:—

degrádu: degré; **fíde**: foi; **mercéde**: merci; **núdu**: nu; **nídu**: ni(d); **péde**: pie(d); **nódu**: nœu(d).

[*Note*.—The final **d** in *nid*, *nœud*, is not sounded; in *pied* (O. F. *pié*) it is sounded only in the phrases *pied-à-terre*, *pied-en-cap*, when it is pronounced **t**.]

D before yod.

§ 234. The group *dj* (i. e. *d* + *yod* resulting from *i* or *e* in hiatus)

i. If initial, or medial and preceded by a consonant, loses the *d* in French, while the *yod* becomes *j* (soft *g*):—

(a) *diúrnu*: *jour*; *de-úsque*: *jusque*; **deósu* (for *deor-sum*): O. F. *jus*.

(b) *hórdeu*: *orge*; *vir(i)diáriu*: *verger*.

[*Note*.—i. The words *diable* (*diabolus*), *diacre* (*diaconus*) are of learned origin.—ii. If the medial group *dj* is preceded by *n*, the *d* disappears, while the *yod* liquefies the *n*:—*Burgúndia*: *Bourgogne*; *Compéndiu*: *Compiègne*; *verecúndia*: *vergogne*; *rotundiäre*: *rogner*; *grandióre*: O. F. *graignor*.]

ii. If it is medial and preceded by a vowel, it loses the *d*, while the *yod* combines with the preceding vowel:—
bádiu: *bai*; *rádia*: *raie*; *gladiólu*: *glaiéul*; *médiu*: *mi*; *invidia*: *envie*; *video*: *voi(s)*; *pódiu*: *pui*; *módiu*: *mui(d)*; *gaúdia*: *joie*.

[*Note*.—The word *étude* (*stúdium*) is of learned origin. *Sid̄ge* comes, not from *sédia*, but as verbal substantitive from *sīd̄ger* (**sedicäre*).]

S.

Initial S.

§ 235. Initial *s* remains unchanged in French:—

satióne: *saison*; *sépte*: *sept*; *símiu*: *singe*; *sólu*: *seul*; *súrdu*: *sourd*.

§ 236. The initial groups *so*, *st*, *sp*, *sm*, are preceded in French by an *e*, called prosthetic *e* (see § 105), in order to facilitate their pronunciation, becoming respectively *esc*, *est*, *esp*, *esm*, from which the *s* has disappeared in modern French in obedience to the law stated below (see § 239).

scútu: *écu* (O. F. *escu*); *scribere*: *écrire* (O. F. *escrire*); *stábula*: *étable* (O. F. *estable*); **stéla*: *étoile* (O. F. *estoile*); *spáta*: *épée* (O. F. *espee*); *spína*: *épine* (O. F. *espine*);

smarágdu: émeraude (O. F. esmeralde); ***smiríliu**: émeri (O. F. esmeril).

[*Note*.—i. This prosthetic *e*, which already existed (as *i*) in popular Latin (see § 105, *note*), occurs not only in French, but also in Spanish and Provençal.—ii. Words such as *escalier* (*scaláriu*), *escabeau* (*scabéllu*), *espérer* (*speráre*), *esprit* (*spiritu*), *espèce* (*spécie*), *espace* (*spátiu*), &c., in which the *s* has been preserved in modern French, are of learned or partially learned origin.—iii. **Spasmáre**, whence *pámer* (O. F. *pasmer*), had already lost initial *s* in popular Latin *pasmáre*.]

Medial S—i. 'supported.'

§ 237. Medial *s* 'supported,' like initial *s*, remains unchanged in French:—

míssa: messe; **vessíca**: vessie; **versáre**: verser; **pulsáre**: pousser; **fálsa**: fausse; **cursáriu**: coursier; **absólvere**: absoudre.

[*Note*.—Between two vowels this *s* in French is written *ss* (as in *pousser*, *fausse*) to distinguish it from soft *s*.]

Medial S—ii. intervocal.

§ 238. Medial *s* between two vowels becomes soft *s* (see § 168, *n.*) in French:—

caúsa: chose; **músa**: muse; **paúsáre**: poser; **thesaúru**: trésor; **ma(n)síone**: maison; **me(n)súra**: mesure; **to(n)síone**: toison; **fusióne**: foison.

Medial S—iii. before consonant.

§ 239. Medial *s* before a consonant, though retained graphically in French until the eighteenth century, ceased to be sounded at the beginning of the twelfth century; in modern French it has disappeared altogether, the preceding vowel being, as a rule, lengthened:—

ásperu: âpre (O. F. *aspre*); **ás(i)nu**: âne (O. F. *asne*); **flascóne**: flacon (O. F. *flascon*); **tésta**: tête (O. F. *teste*);

fésta: fête (O. F. feste); **respónse**: réponse (O. F. response);
véspera: vèpre (O. F. vespre); **baptísma**: baptême (O. F. bautesme); **Iculísma**: Angoulême; **ministériu**: métier (O. F. mestier); **másc(u)lu**: mâle (O. F. masle); **misc(u)lâre**: mêler (O. F. mesler); **i(n)s(u)la**: île (O. F. isle); **orísta**: crête (O. F. creste); **hóspite**: hôte (O. F. oste); **elemós(i)na**: aumône (O. F. aumosne); **músca**: mouche (O. F. mousche); **búx(i)da** (i. e. *buscida*): boîte (O. F. boiste); **crústa**: croûte (O. F. crouste).

[*Note*.—i. Words like *peste* (*péste*), *rester* (*restâre*), &c., are of learned origin.—ii. An exceptional change of *ss* into *r* has taken place in *oss(i)frága*: *orfraie*; *vass(a)littu*: *varlet* (O. F. *vaslet*, whence *valet*).]

§ 240. The medial groups *s'r*, *ss'r*, and *sc'r*, in which *s* is in contact with the liquid *r*, required the intercalation of a euphonic dental in order to facilitate their pronunciation in French, and after this intercalation the *s* disappeared in obedience to the law stated above (see § 239).

i. The group *s'r* intercalates *d*:—

có(n)s(u)re: *coudre* (O. F. *cousdre*); **mís(e)runt**: O. F. *mis-drent* (*mirent*).

ii. The groups *ss'r*, *sc'r*, intercalate *t*:—

***éss(e)re**: *être* (O. F. *estre*); **antecéss(o)r**: *ancêtre* (O. F. *ancestre*); **crésc(e)re**: *croître* (O. F. *croistre*); **pásc(e)re**: *paître* (O. F. *paistre*); **násc(e)re**: *naître* (O. F. *naistre*); **cognósc(e)re**: *connaître* (O. F. *conoistre*).

[*Note*.—In the case of *sc'r* the *c* develops *yod* in French, which combines with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong (see § 191).]

Final S.

§ 241. When it becomes final in French *s* persists (as *s*, *x*, or *z*), but is not sounded; double *ss* is reduced to *s*:—

rísu: *ris*; **cásu**: *cas*; **súsu**: *sus*; **ménse**: *mois*; **plús**: *plus*; **mágis**: *mais*; **péjus**: *pis*; **péctus**: *pis*; **mélius**: *mieux*; ***piósu**: *pieux*; **otiósu**: *oiseux*; **zelósu**: *jaloux*;

latus: *lez*¹; **násu**: *nez*; **rásu**: *rez*²; **ad-sátis**: *assez*; **pásu**: *pas*; **gróssu**: *gros*; **crássu**: *gras*; **míssu**: *mis*; **préssu**: *près*; **tússi**: *toux*.

[*Note*.—In O. F. this final *s* was sounded soft, except when it resulted from **ss**, in which case it was sounded hard, as is evident from derivatives such as *pas*: *passage*, *gros*: *grossir*, *gras*: *grasset*, *toux*: *tousser*.]

S before yod.

§ 242. In the medial groups **sj**, **ssj** (i. e. **s** or **ss** + *yod* resulting from *i* or *e* in hiatus), the *yod* combines with the preceding vowel in French, **s** becoming soft *s* (see § 168 *n.*), **ss** remaining hard:—

ma(n)síone: *maison*; **to(n)síone**: *toison*; **fusióne**: *foison*; **basiáre**: *baiser*; **cerevisia**: *cervoise*; ***bassiáre**: *baisser*; ***crássia**: *graisse*; **messíone**: *moisson*.

Z.

§ 243. Latin **z**, which was borrowed from the Greek ζ, and had the sound of **ds**, has not been preserved in French.

[*Note*.—This Latin **z** must not be confounded with the French *z* (soft *s*), which occurs in *douze*, and (written *z*) in *chore*, *maison*, &c. (see § 218).]

Initial Z.

§ 244. Initial **z**, which had already become consonantal *i* in popular Latin, in French becomes *j* (soft *g*):—
zelósu: *jaloux*; **zizýphu**: *jujube*; **zingíber**: *gingembre*.

Medial Z.

§ 245. Medial **z** has become soft *s* in French in:—
baptizáre: *baptiser*; **láz(a)ru**: O. F. *lasdre* (*ladre*); soft *g* (*j*) in **zizýphu**: *jujube*.

¹ In Plessis-les-Tours, Passy-les-Paris, Champigny-les-Langres.

² In *res-de-chaussée*, *res-mur*, *res-terre*.

LABIALS.

P, B, F, V.

§ 246. The *Labials* in Latin are four in number, consisting of two explosives, one voiceless, **p** ; one voiced, **b** ; and two spirants, one voiceless, **f** ; one voiced, **v**.

	Voiceless.	Voiced.
EXPLOSIVES	P	B
SPIRANTS	F	V

§ 247. The two explosives, **p** and **b**, have a trait in common which is characteristic of the labial group, viz. that when they occur as medials between two vowels, or between a vowel and **r**, they are transformed in French into the voiced spirant **v**.

P.

Initial P.

§ 248. Initial **p** remains unchanged in French :—
pátre: *père* ; **pérdere**: *perdre* ; **pínu**: *pin* ; **pónte**: *pont* ;
púru: *pur* ; **placére**: *plaisir* ; **prúna**: *prune*.

[*Note.*—The **p** disappears in French from words borrowed from Greek, which begin with **pn**, **ps**, **pt**:—**pneúma**: *neume* ; **psálmũ**: *O. F. saume, psaume* ; **ptisána**: *tisane*.]

Medial P—i. 'supported.'

§ 249. Medial **p** 'supported,' like initial **p**, remains unchanged in French :—

serpénte: *serpent* ; **campánia**: *campagne* ; **tálpa**: *taupe* ;
orispáre: *crêper* ; **véspe**: *guêpe*.

[*Note.*—Double **p** becomes single in French:—**oáppa**: *chape* ;
cúppa: *coupe* ; **sappínu**: *sapin* ; **dráppu**: *drap* ; **oéppu**: *cep*.]

Medial P—ii. intervocal.

§ 250. Medial **p** between two vowels is transformed in French into the voiced spirant **v** :—

lúpa : louve ; **capíllu** : cheveu ; **rípa** : rive ; **sapére** : savoir ; **papilióne** : pavillon.

[*Note*.—The words *chapelle* and *chapon* come not from **capella**, **capone**, but from popular Lat. ***cappélla**, ***cappóne**, in which the double **p** is reduced to single **p** in French (see § 249 *n.*).]

Medial P—iii. before consonant.

Medial **p**, in combination with the liquids **r** and **l**, forms the groups **pr** and **pl**.

§ 251. The medial group **pr**

i. If preceded by a consonant remains unchanged in French :—

ásp(e)ru : ápre ; **vésp(e)ras** : vêpres ; **púr(p)u)ra** : pourpre.

ii. If preceded by a vowel it becomes **vr** :—

Apríle : avril ; **cápra** : chèvre ; ***cópreu** : cuivre ; **píp'(e)re** : poivre ; **sep'(e)ráre** : sevrer ; **lép(o)re** : lièvre ; **óp(e)ra** : œuvre.

§ 252. The medial group **pl** remains unchanged in French :—

póp(u)lu : peuple ; **cóp(u)la** : couple.

[*Note*.—i. The **pl** is reduced to **bl** in **dúplu** : double.—ii. **Mésp(i)lu** : mod. *nèfle*, gave the regular form *nèple* in O. F.—iii. *Écueil* comes not from **scóp(u)lu** direct, but from an intermediate form ***scóolu**.]

§ 253. Medial **p**, whether 'supported' or not, disappears in French before the dentals **t**, **d**, **s** :—

rípta : route ; **scrípta** : écrite ; **accaptáre** : acheter ; **com(p)otáre** : conter ; **imp(u)táre** : enter ; **recíp(i)t** : reçoit ; **tép(i)du** : tiède ; **male-sáp(i)du** : maussade ; **ráp(i)du** : O. F. rade ; **váp(i)du** : fade ; **capsa** : chasse.

[*Note*.—In *temps*, *corps*, from *tempus*, *corpus*, the **p** has been

restored by modern grammarians ; in O. F. these words were regularly *tens, cors.*]

Final P.

§ 254. When it becomes final in French, **p**

i. After a consonant remains, but is unsounded :—

cámpu : *champ* ; ***cólpu** : *coup*.

ii. After a vowel becomes *f* :—

***cápu** : *chef*.

P before yod.

§ 255. In the medial group **pj** (i. e. **p** + *yod* resulting from *i* in hiatus), the **p** disappears in French, while the *yod* becomes consonantalised

i. If pretonic, into *j* (soft *g*) :—

pipióne : *pigeon* ;

ii. If post-tonic, into *ch* :—

ápiu : *ache* ; **sápiam** : *sache* ; **própiu** : *proche*.

[*Note*.—The word *sage* comes not from **sápiu** direct, but from a form ***sábiu**.]

B.

Initial B.

§ 256. Initial **b** remains unchanged in French :—

baróne : *baron* ; **béne** : *bien* ; **bíbere** : *boire* ; **bóve** : *bœuf* ;

búlla : *boule* ; **blasphemáre** : *blâmer* ; **bránca** : *branche*.

Medial B—i. 'supported.'

§ 257. Medial **b** 'supported,' like initial **p**, remains unchanged in French :—

hérba : *herbe* ; **carbóne** : *charbon* ; **álba** : *aube* ; **colúmba** :

colombe ; **gámba** : *jambe*.

Medial B—ii. intervocal.

§ 258. Medial **b** between two vowels is, like **p** (see § 250) transformed into the voiced spirant *v* :—

cabállu: cheval; **hibérnu**; hiver; **fába**: fève; **probáre**: prouver; **cubáre**: couvrir.

[*Note*.—In certain cases medial intervocal **b** has disappeared altogether in French: ***núba** (for **nubes**): nue; **víbúrna**: viorne; ***tabóne**: taon; ***habútu**: eu (O. F. eü); ***debútu**: dû (O. F. deü).]

Medial B—iii. before consonant.

Medial **b**, in combination with the liquids **r** and **l**, forms the groups **br** and **bl**.

§ 259. The medial group **br**

i. If preceded by a vowel, becomes *vr* in French:—

lábra: lèvres; **líbru**: livre; **colúbra**: couleuvre; **lib(e)ráre**: livrer.

ii. If preceded by a consonant it remains unchanged:—

úmbra: ombre; **mémbu**: membre; **árb(o)re**: arbre.

[*Note*.—i. In certain cases the group *vr* is reduced to *r* in modern French:—**bírb(e)re**: boire (O. F. boivre); **scrib(e)re**: écrire (O. F. escriivre).—ii. In some cases the *v* has been vocalised into *u*:—**habere-hábeo**: aurai (O. F. avrai); **fábrica** (*favr'ca*, *faurga*): forge.]

§ 260. The medial group **bl**, like **pl** (see § 252), remains unchanged in French:—

táb(u)la: table; **sáb(u)lu**: sable; **stáb(u)lu**: étable; **ad-fib(u)láre**: affubler; **mób(i)le**: meuble; **fiéb(i)le**: faible.

[*Note*.—i. The words *buffle*, *siffler*, do not come direct from **búb(a)lu**, **sib(i)láre**, but from popular Lat. ***búf(a)lu**, ***sifláre**.—ii. In certain cases **b** has become **v** which has become vocalised into *u*:—**táb(u)la** (*ta'v'la*, *taula*): tôle; **paráb(o)la** (*parav'la*, *paraula*): parole.]

Medial B.—iv. before dentals and nasals.

§ 261. Medial **b**, whether 'supported' or not, disappears in French before the dentals **t**, **s**, before nasals, and before **v**:—

súbtus: sous; ***subtána**: soutane; **dub(i)táre**: douter; **cúb(i)tu**: coude; **déb(i)ta**: dette; **gab(a)ta**: jatte; ***sub(i)-**

tánu: soudain; **absólvere**: O. F. asoldre (absoudre); **obscúru**: O. F. obscur (obscur); **submónere**: semondre; **gál-b(i)nu**: O. F. jalne (jaune).

Final B.

§ 262. When it becomes final in French **b** (like **p**, see § 254, i.)

i. After a consonant remains, but is unsounded:—
plúmbu: plomb.

ii. After a vowel becomes *f*:—
trábe: tref; **sébu**: suif.

[*Note*.—In **íbi**: *y*, and **úbi**: *où*, the **b** has disappeared entirely.]

B before yod.

§ 263. In the medial group **bj** (i. e. **b** + *yod* resulting from **i** or **e** in hiatus) the **b** disappears in French, while the *yod*, whether pretonic or post-tonic (cf. § 255), becomes consonantalised into *j* (soft *g*):—

cambiáre: changer; ***lumbea**: longe; ***óurbia**: courge; **gobióne**: goujon; **rúbeu**: rouge; ***rábia** (for *rabies*): rage; ***sábiu** (for *sapiu*): sage; **tíbia**: tige; **gúbia**: gouge.

[*Note*.—In **hábeo**: *ai*, **habeas**: *aies*, &c., a slightly different transformation has taken place.]

V.

Initial V.

§ 264. Initial **v** remains unchanged in French:—

valére: valoir; **vérsu**: vers; **vívere**: vivre; **vóce**: voix; **vúltu**: O. F. vout.

[*Note*.—i. By an exceptional change initial **v** has been hardened into *f* in **víces**: fois; **vápídu**: fade.—ii. The change of initial **v** into *b* in **vervéce**: *brebis* had already taken place in popular Lat. *berbice*.]

§ 265. On the analogy of Germanic **w**, pronounced *oua*, which became *gu* in O. F. (e. g. **warjan**: guarir; **wërra**:

guerre; *wisa*: *guise*), initial *v* in certain Latin words has undergone the same change in French, being written *g* before *a*, and *gu* before *e* or *i*:—

vádu: *gué*; *vágina*: *gaine*; *vastáre*: *gâter*; *vésipa*: *guêpe*; *vípera*: *guivre*; *viscu*: *gui*; *vulpéculu*: O. F. *goupil*.

Medial V—i. 'supported.'

§ 266. Medial *v* 'supported,' like initial *v*, remains unchanged in French:—

adveníre: *avenir*; *servíre*: *servir*; *calvu*: *chauve*; *málva*: *mauve*; *cer(e)vísia*: *cervoise*.

[*Note*.—The change from *v* to *b* in *corvéllu*: *corbeau*; *curváre*: *courber*; *invóláre*: *embler*, had already taken place in popular Lat. *corbellu*, *curbare*, *imbolare*.]

Medial V—ii. *intervocal*.

§ 267. Medial *v* between two vowels, either

i. Remains unchanged in French:—

laváre: *laver*; *novéllu*: *nouveau*; *vivénte*: *vivant*; *movére*: *mouvoir*; or

ii. Disappears altogether:—

pavóne: *paon*; *avúnculu*: *oncle* (for *aoncle*); *vivénda*: *viande*; *pavóre*: O. F. *paur* (*peur*).

Medial V—iii. *before consonant*.

§ 268. Medial *v*, in combination with the liquid *r*, forms the group *vr*, which,

i. If preceded by a vowel, remains unchanged in French:—
vív(e)re: *vivre*.

ii. If preceded by *l*, loses the *v*, which is replaced by intercalary *d*:—

absól(v)e(re): *absoudre* (O. F. *asoldre*); *púl(v)e(re)*: *poudre* (O. F. *poldre*).

§ 269. Medial **v**, whether 'supported' or not, disappears in French before **g**, **t**, **s**:—

nav(i)gáre: nager; **civ(i)táte**: cité; **sérv(i)t**: sert; **vív(i)t**: vit; **náv(e)s**: O. F. **nés** (nefs); **cérv(o)s**: O. F. **cers** (cerfs).

[*Note*.—In *nefs*, *cerfs*, the *f* has been restored by modern grammarians.]

Final **v**.

§ 270. When it becomes final in French **v**, whether 'supported' or not, is changed into *f*:—

bóve: bœuf; **óvu**: œuf; **náve**: nef; **nóvu**: neuf; **sálvu**: sauf; **oérvu**: cerf.

[*Note*.—For the exceptional change of **-ávu**: *-ou* in **olávu**: clou; **Andegávu**: Anjou, &c., see § 31, n. iii.]

v before yod.

§ 271. In the medial group **vj** (i. e. **v** + *yod* resulting from **e** or **i** in hiatus) the **v** disappears in French, while the *yod*, whether pretonic or post-tonic (cf. § 255), becomes consonantalised into *j* (soft *g*):—

cávea: cage; **nívea**: neige; **álvea**: auge; **sálvia**: sauge; **leviáriu**: léger; **serviénte**: sergent; **abbreviáre**: abrégér; **Divióné**: Dijon.

[*Note*.—i. In **aviólu**: aïeul; **plúvia**: pluie; **caveóla**: geôle, the **v** has disappeared without the *yod* becoming consonantalised.—ii. *Fleuve*, *déluge* from **flúviu**, **dilúviu**, are, the one of learned, the other of partly learned, formation.]

F (PH).

Initial **F** (PH).

§ 272. Initial **f** (ph) remains unchanged in French:—

fába: fève; **férru**: fer; **fíne**: fin; **fórtē**: fort; **fústē**: fût; **frátre**: frère; **flámma**: flamme; **phantásma**: fantôme; **phasiánu**: faisan.

[*Note*.—In **fóris**: hors, initial **f**, by an exceptional change has

become *h*. The form *fors*, which is also in use, occurs in the word *forcenté*, O. F. *forsené*.]

Medial F (PH).

§ 273. Medial *f* (ph), whether 'supported,' between two vowels, or before a consonant, remains unchanged in French, like initial *f* :—

i. 'Supported' :—

inférnu : enfer ; **perfúndu* : O. F. parfont ; *perféctu* : O. F. parfit ; *orphanínu* : *orphelin* (O. F. orfenin).

ii. Intervocal :—

deféndere : *défendre* ; *defénsu* : O. F. de fois ; *quadrifúrçu* : *carrefour*.

iii. Before consonant :—

**trif(o)lu* : *trèfle* ; *oóph(i)nu* : *coffre* ; *súlph(u)re* : *souffre* ; *ossifrága* : *orfraie*.

[*Note*.—In certain cases medial *f* disappears altogether—i. intervocal :—*bifáce* : *biais*.—ii. before consonant :—*antéph(o)na* : *antienne* ; *Stéph(a)nu* : *Étienne* ; *blásph(e)mare* : *blâmer*.]

LIQUIDS AND NASALS.

R, L, AND M, N.

§ 274. The *Liquids* in Latin are two in number, *r* and *l*, both of which are connected with the dental group; the Latin *Nasals* are also two in number, of which *m* is a labial nasal, *n* a dental nasal.

	Liquids.	Nasals.
DENTAL	R, L	N
LABIAL		M

§ 275. These four letters, on their passage into French,

are subject to certain laws which are common to them all, viz.

- i. When between two vowels they remain unchanged.
- ii. When they occur before *r*, they require the intercalation of a euphonic consonant in order to facilitate their pronunciation, viz. the dental *d* in the case of the groups *r'r*, *l'r*, *n'r*, and the labial *b* in the case of the group *m'r* (and *m'l*).

LIQUIDS.

R.

§ 276. As a general rule, *r*, whatever its position, remains unchanged in French.

Initial R.

§ 277. Initial *r* persists in French :—

ratione: *raison*; *rendita*: *rente*; *ripa*: *rive*; *rota*: *roue*; *rupta*: *route*.

Medial R.

§ 278. Medial *r*, whether 'supported,' or between two vowels, or before a consonant, persists in French :—

i. 'Supported' :—

lābra: *lèvre*; *fēbre*: *fièvre*; *vēnd(e)re*: *vendre*; *lēp(o)re*: *lièvre*.

[*Note*.—The medial group *rr*, (i.) if of Latin origin, either remains unchanged in French:—*tērra*: *terre*; *oūrrere*: *courre*; *corrīgīa*: *courroie*; *carrūoa*: *charrue*; or is reduced to single *r*:—*currēre*: *courir*; *serrāculu*: *sérail*.—ii. If of Romanic origin (*r'r*), i.e. caused by the loss of a consonant and atonic vowel, it intercalates *d* in French:—*sūr(ge)re*: *sourdre*; *tór(que)re*: *tordre*; *tér(ge)re*: O.F. *terdre*.]

ii. Intervocal :—

coróna: *couronne*; *aeráme*: *airain*; *serénu*: *serein*.

[*Note*.—i. Medial *r* between two vowels sometimes becomes *l* in

French, a change which in some cases had already taken place in popular Latin:—*peregrínu* (*pelegrínu*): *pèlerin*; *paraverédu* (*palafrédu*): *palefroi*; **excaráciu*: *echa/as*.—ii. In *plurióres*: *plusieurs* (O. F. *pluisors*) the change of *r* into *s* had also been effected in popular Latin *plusiores*. This change in the case of *cathédra*: *chaise* (for *chaire*), *bericulu*: *bésicle* (for *bericle*) dates only from the sixteenth century.]

iii. Before consonant:—

firmáre: *fermer*; *versáre*: *verser*; *portáre*: *porter*; *pórcu*: *porc*; *cérvu*: *cerf*; *márgine*: *marge*; *óursu*: *cours*.

[*Note*.—The group *rs* in certain cases is reduced to *s* in French, having already become *ss* or *s* in popular Latin:—*dórsu* (*dóssu*): *dòs*; *súrsu* (*súsu*): *sus*; *pérsica* (*péscu*): *pêche* (O. F. *pesche*).]

Final R.

§ 279. When it becomes final in French *r* persists, final double *rr* being reduced to single *r*:—

céru: *cher*; *áuru*: *or*; *erróre*: *erreur*; *amáru*: *amer*; *cantáre*: *chanter*; *tenére*: *tenir*; *singuláre*: *sanglier*; *cárru*: *char*; *férru*: *fer*; *túrre*: *tour*; *caballáriu*: *chevalier*.

[*Note*.—In O. F. the final *r* of infinitives in *-er*, as well as in such words as *sanglier*, *premier*, &c., was always sounded, just as it now is in *fer*, *cher*, *amer*, *fier*, *hiver*, *enfer*, &c.]

Metathesis of R.

§ 280. It frequently happens that *r*, being a mobile consonant, undergoes metathesis or transposition in French. This is mostly due to the attraction of initial consonants which form groups with *r*, such as *br*, *cr*, *dr*, *fr*, *gr*, *pr*, *tr*, *vr*:—

berbíce (for *vervéce*): *brebis*; *fimbria*: *frange*; *formáticu*: *fromage*; *temperáre*: *tremper*; *tórculu*: *treuil*; **tortiáre*: *trousser*; **turbuláre*: *troubler*.

[*Note*.—To this attraction of the initial consonant for *r* is due the exceptional disappearance of the vowel of the initial syllable in such words as:—*quiritáre*: *crier*; *corotuláre*: *crouler*; *diréctu*: *droit*; **directiáre*: *dresser*; **verácu*: *vrai*.]

Epenthesis of R.

§ 281. In certain French words an *r*, which was not present in the Latin, has been inserted :—

thesaúru : trésor ; perdice : perdrix ; *gólfu : gouffre ; cán-nabe : chanvre ; incaústu : encre ; fúnda : fronde.

[*Note*.—In several of the above instances the epenthesis of *r* is of recent date, as is testified by the O. F. forms *chanve*, *enque*, *fonde*.]

L.

§ 282. As a general rule *l* remains unchanged in French, except when it is medial between a vowel and a consonant, in which case it becomes vocalised (see § 289).

Initial L.

§ 283. Initial *l* persists in French :—

lácrima : larme ; léntu : lent ; líneu : linge ; lóngu : long ; lúpu : loup.

[*Note*.—i. Initial *l* has been changed into *r* by dissimilation in *lusciniólu* : rossignol, but this change had already taken place in popular Latin.—ii. In certain French words initial *l* is due to the agglutination of the definite article ; e. g. *hédéra* : O. F. *l'ierre*, whence *lierre*¹ ; *inde-de-máne* : O. F. *l'endemain*, whence *lendemain* ; *indíctu* : O. F. *l'endit*, whence *lendit* ; **andériu* : O. F. *l'andier*, whence *landier* ; *aureólu* : O. F. *l'oriol*, whence (with change of suffix) *loriot* ; **uvétta* : O. F. *l'uette*, whence *luette* ; cf. Eng. *a newt* for *an ewt* (*est*). Conversely initial *l* has been dropped, owing to a confusion with the article, in **lazúriu* : *azur*.]

Medial L—i. 'supported.'

§ 284. Medial *l* 'supported' persists in French :—

implére : emp^lir ; mér(u)lu : merle ; táb(u)la : table ; Cár(o)lus : Charles ; nó**b**(i)le : noble.

[*Note*.—i. The medial group *ll* is reduced to single *l* in French

¹ Meyer-Lübke suggests (*Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, I. § 430) that the form *lierre* is due to the influence of *lier*.

pronunciation, though the double letter is mostly retained in modern French orthography:—**gallína**: *gefine*; **búlla**: *boule*; **vílla**: *ville* (O. F. *vile*); **ílla**: *elle* (O. F. *ele*). On **-éllu**: *-eau*, see § 161, n. i.—ii. For the particular cases of the medial groups **cl**, **gl**, **tl**, **dl**, **ml**, see §§ 198, 209, 223, 232, 295, iv.—iii. In the medial groups **r'l** and **ss'l**, the **l** is in certain cases changed into **n**:—***már(gu)la**: *marne*; ***postér(u)la**: *poterne*; **péss(u)lu**: *pêne* (O. F. *pesne*).—iv. In **clavícula**: *cheville*; **flébile**: *faible*, the dropping of the first **l** is due to dissimilation.]

Medial L—ii. intervocal.

§ 285. Medial **l** between two vowels persists in French:—**colúmna**: *colonne*; **calóre**: *chaleur*; **palátiu**: *palais*; **múla**: *mule*.

[*Note*.—i. Intervocal **l** has in certain cases been changed into **r** in French: ***navíle**: *navire*; ***fortalitia**: *forteresse*. Similarly **l'l** has become **rl** by dissimilation in **ul(u)láre**: *hurler* (O. F. *u'ller*).—ii. It has become **n** in **colúcula**: *quenouille*, but this change had already taken place in popular Latin **conucla**.]

Final L.

§ 286. When it becomes final in French **l** persists, **ll** being reduced to single **l**:—

pílu: *poil*; **sál**: *sel*; **málu**: *mal*; **mél**: *miel*; **fílu**: *fil*; **caélu**: *ciel*; **mílle**: *mil*; **ílle**: *il*; **cóllu**: *col*; **núllu**: *nu*.

Metathesis of L.

§ 287. In a few cases **l** has undergone metathesis or transposition in French:—

singultíre: O. F. *sengloutir* (whence *sangloter*); **anheláre**: *halener*.

[*Note*.—This change had already taken place in the popular Latin ***singluttire**, ***alenare**.]

Epenthesis of L.

§ 288. In a few French words an **l**, which was not present in the Latin, has been inserted:—

incúdice: *enclume*; **scándalu**: *escandre*.

Vocalisation of L.

§ 289. Medial *l* between a vowel and a consonant becomes vocalised in French into *u*, which combines with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong :—

pálma: *pau*me; **bálsamu:** *bau*me; **oálce:** *chau*x; **fálsu:** *faux*; **álnu:** *aune*; **tálpa:** *tau*pe; **álba:** *aube*; **málva:** *mauve*; **sálvu:** *sauf*; **oál(a)mu:** *chaume*; **oál(i)du:** *chaud*; **salmóne:** *saumon*; **pulmóne:** *poumon*; **vól(u)ta:** *voitte*; **sol(i)dáre:** *souder*; **póll(i)œ:** *pouce*.

[*Note*.—i. When the preceding vowel is *i*, or *ü*, the *l*, not being able to combine with it, disappears:—**púl(i)œ:** *puce*; ***pül(i)œlla:** *pucelle*; ***fíl(i)œlla:** *ficelle*.—ii. In O. F. *l*, in accordance with the above law, was vocalised before flexional *s*; thus while **cabállu** gave *cheval*, the forms **cabáll(u)s** and **cabáll(o)s** gave *chevaus* (whence modern French *chevaux*). Hence the distinctive forms for the singular and plural in modern French of such words as **val** (**válle**), **vaux** (**válles**); **fol** (**fólle**), **fous** (**fólles**); **col** (**oóllu**), **cous** (**oóllós**); &c. In certain cases the plural form has been borrowed for the singular by dropping the *s*:—**châteaux** (**oástellos**), sing. *château*; **cheveux** (**capíllós**), sing. *cheveu*; **agneaux** (**agnéllós**), sing. *agneau*.]

This vocalisation of *l* into *u* is one of the most characteristic phenomena in French phonetics. It was effected at the beginning of the twelfth century, but it was not always graphically represented in the old texts.

The Medial Group L'R.

§ 290. The medial group *l'r*, produced by the loss of an atonic vowel, originally, when *l* retained its consonantal value, inserted an euphonic *d*:—

púl(ve)re: O. F. *poldre*; **fúl(gu)re:** O. F. *foldre*; **mól(e)re:** O. F. *moldre*; **absól(ve)re:** O. F. *asoldre*; **fall(e)re-hábét:** O. F. *fáldra*; **vol(e)re-hábét:** O. F. *voldra*. When later, in obedience to the general law, *l* was vocalised into *u*, these words assumed their present forms:—*poudre*, *foudre*, *moudre*, *absoudre*, *faudra*, *voudra*.

L in combination with yod. (*Liquefied L*).

§ 291. When **l** occurs in contact with *yod*, i. e.

i. When it is followed by **i** or **e** in hiatus. Or

ii. Preceded by a palatal (**c** or **g**), the *yod* liquefies the **l**, which in its liquefied form is written *ill* or *il* in French :—

- i. **pálea**: paille; **fília**: fille; **mirábília**: merveille; **fólia**: feuille; **dóliu**: deuil; **consíliu**: conseil; **melióre**: meilleur.
 ii. **auríc(u)la**: oreille; **paríc(u)lu**: pareil; **períc(u)lu**: péril;
***lentíc(u)la**: lentille; **caníc(u)la**: chenille; **óc(u)lu**: œil;
tórc(u)lu: treuil; **coag(u)láre**: cailler; **vig(i)láre**: veiller.

[*Note*.—In O. F. this **l** liquefied by *yod* was no longer liquefied when it occurred before flexional *s*, but was then vocalised according to rule (see § 289, *n.* ii.):—**mélius**: O. F. miels, whence mieux; ***véolus**: O. F. viels, whence vieux; ***genúo(u)los**: O. F. genols, whence genoux; ***trepálios**: O. F. travals, whence travaux. This circumstance explains the apparently irregular plurals of such words as travail, bail, &c., thus ***trepáliu**: travail, ***trepálios**: travaux; ***báliu**: bail, **bálios**: baux; &c. It also accounts for the change of the O. F. words genouil (**genúculu**), pœuil (***pedúculu**), verrouil (**verrúculu**) into their modern forms genou, pou, verrou, which have been borrowed from the plurals genous (**genúculos**), pœous (***pedúculos**), verrous (**verrúculos**), by the omission of the plural sign.]

NASALS.

M.*Initial M.*

§ 292. Initial **m** remains unchanged in French :—

- mánu**: main; **ménse**: mois; **mílle**: mil; **mórtē**: mort;
múla: mule; **mercéde**: merci; **mirábília**: merveille.

[*Note*.—Initial **m** has been changed into *n* in **máppa**: nappe; **mátta**: natte; **méspilu**: nêfle.]

Medial M—i. 'supported.'

§ 293. Medial **m** 'supported' remains unchanged in French, like initial **m** :—

formíca: fourmi; **vermículu**: vermeil; **gémma**: gemme;
báls(a)mu: baume; **palma**: paume; **spasmáre**: pâmer;
phantásma: fantôme; ***abísmu**: abîme.

[*Note*.—Medial **m** has disappeared after *r* in **vérmu**: ver; ***stórmu**: O. F. estor.]

Medial M—ii. intervocal.

§ 294. Medial **m** between two vowels remains unchanged in French :—

clamóre: clameur; **ramáticu**: ramage; **dimídiu**: demi;
amícu: ami; **primáriu**: premier; **demáne**: demain; **Róma**: Rome.

[*Note*.—In a few cases this **m** becomes doubled in French, especially after *o*:—**póma**: pomme; **súmus**: sommes (cf. § 302).]

Medial M—iii. before consonant.

§ 295. Medial **m** before a consonant undergoes various changes in French, according to the nature of the consonant which it precedes.

- i. Before the labials **p**, **b**, it remains unchanged graphically, but the preceding vowel becomes nasalised :—

gámba: jambe; **amb(u)láre**: ambler; **plúmbu**: plomb;
témplu: temple; **impériu**: empire; **pámpinu**: pampre;
týmpanu: timbre; **rúmpere**: rompre.

- ii. Before palatals and dentals it is changed to *n* in French, the preceding vowel becoming nasalised :—

rúm(i)ce: ronce; **púm(i)ce**: ponce; **sém(i)ta**: sente;
cóm(i)te: O. F. conte; **com(pu)táre**: conter; **prim(u)-tém-pus**: printemps.

[*Note*.—If the group **m't** is preceded by *r* the **m** disappears:—**dórm(i)t**: dort; **dorm(i)tóriu**: dortoir; **firm(i)táte**: O. F. ferté.]

iii. The group **m'n** is reduced to **m** (which in modern

French is in some cases written *mm*):—

hóm(i)ne: homme (O. F. *home*); **fém(i)na**: femme (O. F. *feme*); **lám(i)na**: lame; **dóm(i)na**: dame; **intam(i)náre**: entamer; **sem(i)náre**: semer; **nom(i)náre**: nommer (O. F. *nomer*); ***cosuetúm(i)ne**: costume; **térm(i)nu**: terme; **car-m(i)náre**: charmer.

[*Note*.—i. The same holds good of the group **mn**:—**sómnu**: somme; **somnióulu**: sommeil; **damnátíou**: dommage; but **mn** becomes **nn** in **colúmna**: colonne; **Garúmna**: Garonne; ***sollemnále**: solennel.—ii. The words *automne* and *damner* are of learned origin.]

iv. The groups **m'r** and **m'l** intercalate a euphonic *b* in French:—

cám(e)ra: chambre; **núm(e)ru**: nombre; **cucúm(e)re**: concombres; **Cam(e)rácu**: Cambrai; **cúm(u)lu**: comble; **in-sím(u)l**: ensemble; **húm(i)le**: humble; **sim(u)láre**: sembler; **trem(u)láre**: trembler.

[*Note*.—i. The group **m'r** has been changed into **ndr** in certain French infinitives from Lat. **-ém(e)re**, **-ím(e)re**, on the analogy of infinitives in **-aindre**, **-eindre**, from Lat. **-áng(e)re**, **-íng(e)re** (see § 303, iii.):—**gém(e)re**: geindre (O. F. *giembre*); **trem(e)re**: craindre (O. F. *criembre*); **imprim(e)re**: empreindre.—ii. In the group **rm'r** the **m** has been changed into *b* in **márm(o)r**: marbre.]

Final M.

§ 296. Final **m** in Latin disappeared at an early date. Even in classical Latin it was so slurred as to be hardly pronounced at all, as is evident from the facility with which it was elided in verse¹.

Thus it happened that in popular Latin the accusatives singular of such words as **mur** (acc. **murum**), **porta** (acc.

¹ The loss of final **m** in Latin dates back to prehistoric times. Its disappearance is noticeable even in the most ancient inscriptions, such as that on the tomb of the Scipios. In classical times, when the Latin spelling became fixed, this **m** was reintroduced, but it was never employed in the popular speech. (See Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.* i. § 403, 7.)

portam), *turris* (acc. *turrem*), &c., were reduced to *muru'*, *porta'*, *turre'*, &c.

The final *m*, however, of certain monosyllables has persisted in French in the form of *n*, the preceding vowel becoming nasalised :—

rém : rien ; *m(e)úm* : mon ; *t(u)úm* : ton ; *s(u)úm* : son.

§ 297. When it becomes final in French, owing to the loss of the Latin termination, *m* always persists, being written sometimes *m*, sometimes *n*, while the preceding vowel is nasalised :—

fáme : faim ; *hómo* : on ; *nóme(n)* : nom ; *aeráme(n)* : airain ; *exáme(n)* : essaim ; *alúme(n)* : alun ; *racému* : raisin ; *ligáme(n)* : lien.

[*Note*.—In O. F. this *m* usually became *n*, the substitution of *m* being in most cases modern ; as in *nom* for O. F. *non*, and *essaim* for O. F. *essain* ; &c.]

Epenthesis of M.

§ 298. In a few French words an *m* which was not present in the Latin has been inserted :—

labrúsca : lambruche ; *zingíber* : gingembre.

M before yod.

§ 299. When *m* is followed by *yod* (resulting from *i* or *e* in hiatus), the latter is consonantalised into *j* (soft *g*) in French, while *m* becomes *n* :—

símiu : singe ; *vindémia* : vendange ; *commeátu* : congé ; *cambiáre* : changer ; *fimbria* : frange ; *somniáre* : songer ; *sómnui* : songe ; *dominióne* : dongeon ; *dominiáriu* : danger.

N.

Initial N.

§ 300. Initial *n* remains unchanged in French :—

nátu : né ; *nérvu* : nerf ; *nídu* : nid ; *nócte* : nuit ; *núce* : noix.

Medial N—i. 'supported.'

§ 301. Medial *n* 'supported' remains unchanged in French, like initial *n* :—

tornáre: tourner; **áinu**: aune; **fráx(i)nu**: frêne; **ás(i)nu**: âne; **sal(i)náriu**: saunier; **júv(ə)ne**: jeune; **gálb(i)nu**: jaune.

[*Note*.—i. In certain cases, when the termination becomes feminine in French (i.e. when the word ends in so-called *e* mute), medial *n* 'supported' is changed into *r*:—**pámp(i)nu**: pampre; **órd(i)ne**: ordre; **diác(o)nu**: diacre; **cóph(i)nu**: coffre; **týmp(a)nu**: timbre; **Lónd(i)niu**: Londres.—ii. In **oárp(i)nu**: charme, in which the dental nasal *n* follows a labial, it has been changed into the labial nasal *m*.—iii. In **consuetúd(i)ne**: coutume, **amaritúd(i)ne**: amertume, **incúd(i)ne**: enclume, &c., the termination **-úd(i)ne** had already become **-úm(i)ne** in popular Latin; and the group *m'n* was regularly reduced to *m* in French (see § 295, iii.).]

Medial N—ii. *intervocal*.

§ 302. Medial *n* between two vowels remains as a rule unchanged in French :—

lána: laine; **avéna**: avoine; **spína**: épine; **lúna**: lune.

In many cases, however, it is doubled in French, especially after *o* :—

honóre: honneur; **sonáre**: sonner; **bóna**: bonne; **persóna**: personne; **coróna**: couronne.

[*Note*.—Medial *n* between two vowels has sometimes been changed into *l* by dissimilation :—**orphanínu**: orpheⁿin; **Bonónia**: Boulogne.]

Medial N—iii. *before consonant*.

§ 303. Medial *n* before a consonant undergoes various changes in French, according to the nature of the consonant which it precedes.

- i. Before the dentals *t*, *d*, and the palatals *c*, *g*, it persists :—

pónte: pont; amánte: amant; véntu: vent; véndere: vendre; respóndere: répondre; bránca: branche; tínca: tanche; mán(i)ca: manche; ángelu: ange; singuláre: sanglier.

[*Note.*—Medial *n* has disappeared before *o* in *co(n)chýlla*: coquille.]

ii. Before *s* it disappeared at an early date, this change having already taken place in popular Latin:—

mé(n)sē: mois; spó(n)su: époux; í(n)sula: île; có(n)suere: coudre; co(n)stáre: coûter; to(n)síone: toison; ma(n)síone: maison; me(n)súra: mesure.

[*Note.*—Medial *n* has disappeared also before *m* in *án(i)ma*: âme; Hierón(i)mu: Jérôme.]

iii. The group *n'r* intercalates euphonic *d* in French:—

tén(e)ru: tendre; gén(e)ru: gendre; óin(e)re: cendre; pón(e)re: pondre; submón(e)re: semondre; pín(ge)re: peindre; plán(ge)re: plaindre; mín(o)r: O. F. mendre; Portu-Vén(e)ris: Port-Vendres; Ven(e)ris-die: Vendredi.

Final N.

§ 304. When it becomes final in French *n*

i. After a vowel persists:—

mánu: main; frénu: frein; vínu: vin; pavóne: paon; unióne: oignon; jejúnu: jeun.

ii. After a consonant (especially *r*) it disappears:—

diúrnu: jour; córnu: cor; fúrnu: four; hibérnu: hiver; inférnu: enfer.

[*Note.*—It is in obedience to this law that double *nn* is reduced to single *n* in French:—ánnu: an; pánnu: pan; túnnu: thon. In O. F. final *n* after *r* persisted until the end of the twelfth century; e.g. examples of *corn* for *cor* occur in the *Chanson de Roland* (eleventh century), and in the *Vie de St. Thomas* (1173) by Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence¹.]

¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French* (Spec. v. 224; Spec. xx. 40).

Epenthesis of N.

§ 305. In certain French words an *n*, which was not present in the Latin, has been inserted:—

cucúmere: *concombre*; **joculáre**: *jongler*; **réddere**: *rendre*;
aquilégia: *ancolie* (O. F. *ânquelie*); ***cupidietáre**: *convoiter*; **locústa**: *langouste*; **Iculísma**: *Angoulême*.

[*Note*.—The *n* in *peintre*, *feint*, &c. already existed in popular Latin *pinctor*, *finctu*, &c. (for class. *pietor*, *fictum*, &c.), on the analogy of *pingere*, *finger*, &c.]

N before yod.

§ 306. When *n* is followed by *yod* (resulting from *i* or *e* in hiatus), the latter liquefies the *n*, which in its liquefied form is written *gn* in French:—

Campánia: *Champagne*; **montánia**: *montagne*; **testimoniáre**: *témoigner*; **unióne**: *oignon*; **senióre**: *seigneur*;
tínea: *teigne*; **línea**: *ligne*; **vínea**: *vigne*.

[*Note*.—i. In a few instances *n* before *yod* has been treated in the same way as *m* under the like circumstances (see § 299), viz. the *n* has persisted, while the *yod* has been consonantalised into *j* (soft *g*):—**extráneu**: *étrange*; **lánēu**: *lange*; **línēu**: *linge*; **gránae**: *grange*.—ii. When *n* is followed by the palatal *o* in the group *not*, the *yod* disengaged by the *c*, which originally liquefied the *n*, combines with the preceding vowel, leaving *n* unchanged:—**sánctu**: *saint*; **tínctu**: *teint*; **púnctu**: *point* (see § 199).]

M, N.*Nasalisation.*

§ 307. When the two nasals *m* and *n* in French become final, or are followed by one or more consonants, they lose their ordinary sound, and react on the preceding vowel (or diphthong), which becomes *nasalised*, as in *an*, *jambe*; *pin*, *singe*, *timbre*, &c. (see §§ 163-164).

CHAPTER V.

The French Consonants.

§ 308. The French consonants are nineteen in number, viz. **B, C, D, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z.** Of these we may eliminate **H** as having been already dealt with (see § 177), **K** and **Q** as being forms of hard **C**, and **X** as being another form of hard **S**. On the other hand we must add **CH** (which represents the sound of *sh* in English *shame*), and liquefied **L** (**ILL, IL**) and **N** (**GN, NG**). Thus, including the liquefied nasals, we have eighteen French consonants: **B, C, CH, D, F, G, J, L, ILL, M, N, GN, P, R, S, T, V, Z.**

[*Note.*—Liquefied *l* when final is written *il*; liquefied *n* when final is written *ng* (see §§ 431, 456).]

Classification of French Consonants.

§ 309. These eighteen consonants may, like the Latin (see § 167), be classified in two ways:—

- i. They may be divided into *three families*, viz. four *Palatals* (**C, G, CH, J**); nine *Dentals* (**T, D, S, Z, R, L, ILL, N, GN**); and five *Labials* (**P, B, F, V, M**).
- ii. They may be distributed into *four classes*, viz. six *Explosives*, which are subdivided into three voiceless (**C, T, P**), and three corresponding voiced ones (**G, D, B**); six *Spirants*, which are subdivided into three voiceless (**CH, S, F**), and three corresponding voiced ones (**J, Z, V**); three *Liquids* (**R, L, ILL** or **IL**); and three *Nasals* (**M, N, GN** or **NG**).

[*Note.*—Hard **C** is sometimes also written **K** or **QU**; hard **S** is sometimes written **Ç** (as in *ça, place, cent, ici, police, maçon, reçu*), or **SS** (as in *masse, attesse, pelisse, brosse, fusse*), or **X** (as in *dix, six*); **J** (i.e. soft **G**) is sometimes written **G** (*jambe, je, juge; gendre, gîte, geôle*); and **Z** (i.e. soft **S**, see § 218) is sometimes written **S** (*douse, dizaine; maison, gésir*).]

§ 310. In the following table these eighteen consonants are so arranged as to exhibit this double classification :—

	Explosives.		Spirants.		Liquids.	Nasals.
	Voiceless.	Voiced.	Voiceless.	Voiced.		
PALATALS }	C (K, QU)	G	CH	J (G)		
DENTALS }	T	D	S (Ç, SS, X)	Z (S)	R, L, ILL (IL)	N, GN (NG)
LABIALS	P	B	F	V		M

§ 311. In tracing the origin of the French consonants the order of classification adopted in the above table will be followed, viz.

- i. The *Palatals*, **C (K, QU)**, **G**, **CH**, **J (G)**.
- ii. The *Dentals*, **T**, **D**, **S (Ç, SS, X)**, **Z (S)**.
- iii. The *Labials*, **P**, **B**, **F**, **V**.
- iv. The *Liquids*, **R, L, ILL (IL)**, and the *Nasals*, **N, GN (NG)**, **M**.

PALATALS.

C (K, QU), G, CH, J (G).

§ 312. The *Palatals* in French are four in number, consisting of two explosives, one voiceless, *c* (hard); one voiced, *g* (hard) (written *gu* before *e* and *i*); and two spirants, one voiceless, *ch*; one voiced, *j* (or soft *g*); to which must be added *k* and *qu*, forms of hard *c*.

EXPLOSIVES	Voiceless.	Voiced.
	C	G
SPIRANTS	CH	J (G)

C.**C (hard C).***Initial C.*

Initial *c* (hard) in French comes from

§ 313. Latin initial *c*

i. Before *o* or *u* :—

cóllu: *col*; **córpus**: *corps*; **coróna**: *couronne*; **cúbitu**: *coude*; **cúra**: *cure*; **cúrsu**: *cours* (see § 183).

ii. Before *r* or *l* :—

crédere: *croire*; **críspu**: *crêpe*; **cláve**: *clef* (see § 196).

§ 314. Latin initial **qu** (in certain cases) :—

quáre: *car* (O. F. *quer*); **quassáre**: *casser*; **quatérnu**: *cahier*; ***quadrilióne**: *carillon*; ***quétu**: *coi*; **quiritáre**: *crier*; **quómodo**: *comme*; **quóta**: *cote* (see § 202).

[*Note*.—Latin initial **qu** more usually remains *qu* in French (see §§ 202, 321).]

Medial C.

Medial *c* (hard) in French comes from

§ 315. Latin medial *c* before *o* or *u* and preceded by a consonant :—

falcóne: *faucon*; **hanc-hora**: *encore*; ***vescútu**: *vécu*; **incumuláre**: *encombrer* (see § 184, iii.).

§ 316. Latin medial *c* in the groups **ncr**, **nel**, **scr** :—

cáncru: *chancre*; **ánc(o)ra**: *ancré*; **vínc(e)re**: *vaincre*; **avínc(u)lu**: *oncle*; **carbúnc(u)lu**: *escarboucle*; **inclínu**: *enclin*; **scríbere**: *écrire*; **scríniu**: *écrin*; ***scrobéllas**: *écrouelles* (see §§ 197, iii. ; 198, iii.).

Final C.

Final *c* (hard) in French comes from

§ 317. Latin **cc** become final :—

sáccu: *sac*; **béccu**: *bec*; **síccu**: *sec* (see § 185, v.).

§ 318. Latin *c* preceded by *n* or *r*, and become final :—
júncu : *jonc* ; *trúncu* : *tronc* ; **bláncu* : *blanc* ; *árcu* : *arc* ;
pórcu : *porc* ; *clér(i)cu* : *clerc* (see § 185, iv.).

[*Note*.—Final *c* preceded by a consonant is usually silent in French, as in *jonc*, *blanc*, *clerc* ; it is, however, sounded in *arc*, and *porc* (and in *franc* in liaison).]

§ 319. Latin final *c* preceded by *o* (in a few cases) :—
ab-hóc : *avec* (O. F. *avoec*) ; **illóc* : O. F. *íluec* (see § 185, iii.).

K.

§ 320. French *k* is employed in certain foreign words, such as *képi*, *kiosque*, &c., as well as in the barbarous terms of the metrical system, such as *kilogramme*, *kilomètre*, &c., where it represents the Greek χ . The proper equivalent of χ is *ch* (hard) as in *chaos*, *choléra*, *chœur*, &c.

[*Note*.—The words *kilogramme*, *kilomètre*, &c., are double barbarisms for *chiliógramme*, *chiliomètre* (from $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron$ -).]

QU.

Initial QU.

Initial *qu* in French comes from

§ 321. Latin initial *qu* :—

quáttuor : *quatre* ; *quále* : *quel* ; *quántu* : *quant* ; *queréla* : *querelle* ; *quindecim* : *quinze* (see § 202).

[*Note*.—Latin initial *qu* sometimes becomes *c* (hard) in French (see § 314).]

§ 322. Latin initial *o* before *o* (in a few cases) :—
 **oóda* (for *cauda*) : *queue* ; *cóquu* : *queux*.

Medial QU.

§ 323. Medial *qu* in French comes from Latin medial *qu* :—
tranquíllu : *tranquille* ; **cinquanta* (for *quinquaginta*) : *cin-*

quante ; also from *ch* in *co(n)chýliu* : *coquille* ; *páschas* : *pâques* ; (Arab.) *nucha* : *nuque*.

Final Q.

§ 324. Final *q* in French comes from Latin *q* become final :—

**cinque* (for *quínque*) : *cinq* (O. F. *cinc*).

G.

G (hard *G*).

Initial G.

Initial *g* (hard) in French (written *gu* before *e* and *i*) comes from

§ 325. Latin initial *g*

i. Before *o* or *u* :—

gobióne : *goujon* ; *gúla* : *gueule* ; *gútta* : *goutte* (see § 205, i.).

ii. Before *r* or *l* :—

gránu : *grain* ; *gránde* : *grand* ; *gróssu* : *gros* ; *glánde* : *gland* ; *glória* : *gloire* (see § 205, iii.).

[*Note*.—In *grenouille* (*ranúcla* for *ranúncula*) initial *g* is an addition, due perhaps to the influence of *gracidare* ‘to croak.’]

§ 326. Latin initial *c* (in a few cases) before *o* or *u*, and *r* or *l* :—

i. *confláre* : *gonfler* ; *cóntu* : *gond* ; *cucúrbita* : *gourde* ; **cuppillétu* : *gobelet* (see § 183, *note* i.).

ii. *crássu* : *gras* ; *craticula* : *grille* ; **clássu* (for *clássicu*) : *glas* (see § 196, *note*).

§ 327. Latin initial *v* in certain cases :—

vádu : *gué* ; *vagina* : *gaine* ; *véspe* : *guêpe* ; *viscu* : *gui* ; *vípera* : *guivre* (see § 265).

Medial G.

Medial *g* (hard) in French comes from

§ 328. Latin medial *g* before *o* or *u* and preceded by a consonant :—

angústia: angoisse; **língua**: langue; **Burgúndia**: Bourgogne; **ungúentu**: ointment (see § 206, i.).

§ 329. Latin medial **g** in the group **ngl**:—

áng(u)lu: angle; **úng(u)la**: ongle; **sing(u)láre**: sanglier; **cíng(u)la**: sangle (see § 209).

§ 330. Latin medial **c** before **o** or **u** and preceded by **a**:—

dracóne: dragon; **ciconia**: cigogne; **acútu**: aigu; **acúcula**: aiguille (see § 184, i.).

§ 331. Latin medial **c** in the group **cr** (in certain cases):—

ácre: aigre; **alácre**: allègre; **mácru**: maigre (see § 197, i.).

§ 332. Latin medial **c** in the group **cl**, if pretonic and preceded by a vowel:—

ecclésia: église; ***ac(u)lentáriu**: églantier; **buc(u)láre**: beugler (see § 198, ii.).

[*Note*.—The *g* in *doigt* (O. F. *doit*) from **díg(i)tu** is of recent origin.]

Final G.

§ 333. Final **g** (hard) in French comes from Latin **g** become final:—

lóngu: long; ***sángue** (for **sanguine**): sang.

[*Note*.—i. This final *g* is not sounded, except in liaison, when it is sounded like hard *c*, as in 'suer sank et eau.'—ii. The final *g* in words like *seing*, *poing*, *étang*, *coing*, is a relic of a former liquefied *n* produced by the palatal in the Latin **sígnu**, **púgnu**, **stágnu**, ***cotóneu**. The sound of the liquefied *n* (i. e. *gn*, written *ng* when final) disappeared when the preceding vowel became nasalised (see § 307), but the *g* was retained graphically, though no longer sounded (see § 456).]

CH.

Initial CH.

§ 334. Initial **ch** in French comes from Latin initial **c** before **a**:—

cabállu: cheval; **cámera**: chambre; **cántu**: chant; **cáru**: cher; **cápra**: chèvre (see § 186).

Medial CH.

Medial *ch* in French comes from

§ 335. Latin medial *c* before *a* and preceded by a consonant, when *ca* is final :—

vácca : *vache* ; *sícca* : *sèche* ; *árca* : *arche* ; *mán(i)ca* : *manche* ; *músca* : *mouche* ; *pért(i)ca* : *perche* (see § 187, i.).

§ 336. Latin medial *c* before *a* and preceded by a consonant, when *ca* is the tonic syllable :—

peccátu : *péché* ; *mercátu* : *marché* ; *circáre* : *chercher* (O. F. *cerchier*) ; *pend(i)cáre* : *pencher* ; *mast(i)cáre* : *mâcher*.

[*Note*.—When the contact between medial *c* before *a* and the preceding consonant was of Romanic origin, i. e. caused by the loss of an atonic vowel, the *c* in many cases became soft *g* in French (see §§ 187, ii., 343).]

§ 337. Latin *c* become final in the group *t'c*, if preceded by a consonant :—

pórt(i)cu : *porche* ; *domést(i)cu* : O. F. *domesche* (see § 185, vii. *b*).

[*Note*.—In these words *ch* is, strictly speaking, final, the *e* acting merely as 'supporting vowel' (see § 23, iii.).]

§ 338. Latin medial *p* before *yod*, if the group *pj* is post-tonic :—

ápiu : *ache* ; *própiu* : *proche* ; *sápiat* : *sache* (see § 255).

[*Note*.—In *ache*, *proche*, the *ch* is, strictly speaking, final, the *e* acting merely as 'supporting vowel' (cf. § 337, *note*).]

*J (soft G).**Initial J (soft G).*

Initial *j* (soft *g*) in French comes from

§ 339. Latin initial *j* before *a*, *e*, or *i* (usually written *g* in French except before *a*) :—

gálbinu: jaune; **gám̃ba**: jambe; **gaúdia**: joie; **gábata**: joue; **gént̃e**: gent; ***gincíva**: gencive (see § 205, ii.).

§ 340. Latin initial **j**:—

jactáre: jeter; **jejúnu**: jeun; **jócu**: jeu; **júvene**: jeune (see § 214).

§ 341. Latin initial **d** followed by *yod* (**dj**):—

diúrnu: jour; **de-úsque**: jusque (see § 234, i. a).

§ 342. Latin initial **z**:—

zelósu: jaloux; **zizýphu**: jujube (see § 244).

Medial J (soft G).

Medial **j** (soft **g**) comes from

§ 343. Latin medial **g** before **a**, **e**, or **i**, and preceded by a consonant:—

purgáre: purger; **argéntu**: argent; **argílla**: argile (see § 206, ii.).

§ 344. Latin medial **c** before **a** and preceded by a consonant, when the contact between **c** and the preceding consonant was of Romanic origin (i. e. caused by the loss of an atonic vowel):—

carr(i)cáre: charger; **mand(u)cáre**: manger; **jud(i)cáre**: juger (see § 187, ii. b).

[*Note*.—This **c** sometimes also became *ch* in French (see §§ 187, ii.; 336).]

§ 345. Latin medial **d** followed by *yod* (**dj**), and preceded by a consonant:—

hórdeu: orge; **vir(i)dáriu**: verger (see § 234, i. b).

§ 346. Latin medial **p** followed by *yod* (**pj**), when pretonic:—

pipióne: pigeon (see § 255, i.).

§ 347. Latin medial **b** followed by *yod* (**bj**):—

cambiáre: changer; **gobióne**: goujon; **rúbeu**: rouge; ***rabia** (for *rabies*): rage; **tibia**: tige (see § 263).

§ 348. Latin medial **v** followed by *yod* (**vj**):—
cávea: cage; **nívea**: neige; **serviénte**: sergent; **abbreviáre**:
 abrégér (see § 271).

§ 349. Latin medial **m** followed by *yod* (**mj**):—
símiu: singe; **vindémia**: vendange; **sómniu**: songe;
fímbria: frange (see § 299).

§ 350. Latin medial **n** followed by *yod* (**nj**) (in a few instances):—
líneu: linge; **lánéu**: lange; **extránéu**: étrange; **gránae**:
 grange (see § 306, *note* i.).

§ 351. Latin medial **c** before **a** and preceded by a consonant, where **ca** is final (in one or two instances):—
sér(i)ca: serge; **péd(i)ca**: piège.

[*Note*.—This **c** usually becomes *ch* in French (see § 187, i. and *note*).]

Final J (soft G).

§ 352. Final *j* (soft *g*) in French comes from Latin **c** become final, in the group **t'c**, if preceded by a vowel:—
aetát(i)cu: âge; **viát(i)cu**: voyage; **silvát(i)cu**: sauvage
 (see § 185, vii. *a*).

FRENCH DENTALS.

T, D, S (Ç, SS, X), Z (S).

§ 353. The *Dentals* in French (leaving aside the liquids *r, l, ill*, and the nasals *n, gn*) are four in number, consisting of two explosives, one voiceless, *t*; one voiced, *d*; and two spirants, one voiceless, *s* (hard); and one voiced, *z* (or soft *s*); to which must be added *ç* and *x*, forms of hard *s*.

	Voiceless.	Voiced.
EXPLOSIVES	T	D
SPIRANTS	S (Ç, SS, X)	Z (S)

T.*Initial T.*

Initial *t* in French comes from

§ 354. Latin initial *t*:—

tántu: *tant*; **térra**: *terre*; **túrre**: *tour*; **trúnou**: *tronc*
(see § 219).

Medial T.

Medial *t* in French comes from

§ 355. Latin medial *t* before a vowel and preceded by a consonant (except *b*, or *c*, *g*):—

cantáre: *chanter*; **virtúte**: *vertu*; **vól(u)ta**: *voûte*; **rénd(i)ta**: *rente* (see § 220, and *note*).

§ 356. Latin medial *t* in the group *tr*, if preceded by a consonant:—

litt(e)ra: *lettre*; **mítt(e)re**: *mettre*; **óstrea**: *huître*; **últra**: *ouître* (see § 222, i.).

[*Note*.—Latin double *tt* becomes single *t* in O. F. (as in **mítt(e)re**: O. F. *mettre*, **litt(e)ra**: O. F. *lettre*); in modern French the *tt* in *mettre*, *lettre*, &c., which is of recent origin, is pronounced like single *t* ('*mètre*,' '*lètre*').]

§ 357. Medial *t* in French also occurs euphonicallly between *ss*, *sc*, and *r* in the Romanic groups *ss'r*, *sc'r*:—

***éssere**: *être* (O. F. *estre*); **antecéss(o)r**: *ancêtre* (O. F. *ancesre*); **pásc(e)re**: *paître* (O. F. *paistre*); **crésc(e)re**: *croître* (O. F. *croistre*) (see § 240, ii.).

Final T.

Final *t* in French comes from

§ 358. Latin *t* preceded by a consonant and become final:—

véntu: *vent*; **sépte**: *sept*; **fúste**: *fût*; **díg(i)tu**: *doigt*; **dórm(i)t**: *dort*; **vív(i)t**: *vit* (see § 225, i.).

§ 359. Latin *d* preceded by a consonant and become final :—

vír(i)de : *vert* ; **subínde** : *souvent* ; **de-únde** : *donť*.

[*Note*.—This *t* is often written *d* in modern French, but it has the sound of *t* when in liaison (see § 233, i. *note*).]

D.

Initial D.

§ 360. Initial *d* in French comes from Latin initial *d* :—
dámu : *daim* ; **dénte** : *dent* ; **dúru** : *dur* ; **diréctu** : *droit* (see § 228).

Medial D.

Medial *d* in French comes from

§ 361. Latin medial *d* before a vowel and preceded by a consonant :—

ardénte : *ardent* ; **cal(i)da** : *chaude* ; **sol(i)dáre** : *souder* (see § 229).

§ 362. Latin medial *d* in the group *dr*, if preceded by a consonant :—

vénd(e)re : *vendre* ; **pérd(e)re** : *perdre* ; **mórd(e)re** : *mordre* (see § 231, i.).

§ 363. Latin medial *t* preceded by *b*, or *c*, *g*, or *yod* :—
cúb(i)tu : *coude* ; **sub(i)tánu** : *soudain* ; **plac(i)táre** : *plaider* ;
cog(i)táre : *cuidér* ; **ai(u)táre** : *aider* (see § 220, *note*).

§ 364. Medial *d* in French also occurs euphonicallly

i. Between *s* and *r* in the Romanic group *s'r* :—

có(n)s(ue)re : *coudre* (O. F. *cousdre*) ; **mís(e)runt** : O. F. *misdrunt* (*mirent*) (see § 240, i.).

ii. Between *l* and *r* in the Romanic group *l'r* :—

mól(e)re : *moudre* (O. F. *moldre*) ; **púl(ve)re** : *poudre* (O. F. *poldre*) ; **fúl(gu)re** : *foudre* (O. F. *foldre*) (see § 290).

iii. Between **n** and **r** in the Romanic group **n'r** :—

tén(e)ru : tendre ; **pón(e)re** : pondre ; **plán(ge)re** : plaindre ;
cín(e)re : cendre (see § 303, iii.).

iv. Between **r** and **r** in the Romanic group **r'r** :—

súr(ge)re : sourdre ; **tór(que)re** : tordre (see § 278, i. n. ii.).

Final D.

Final *d* in French comes from

§ 365. Latin **d** preceded by a consonant, and become final :—

gránde : grand ; **fúndu** : fond ; **cál(i)du** : chaud ; **tárdu** : tard.

[*Note*.—This *d*, which was formerly (and is often now) written *t*, has the sound of *t* in liaison (see § 233, i. *note*).]

§ 366. Latin **d** preceded by a vowel, and become final (in a few cases) :—

nídu : nid ; **péde** : pied ; **nódu** : nœud.

[*Note*.—This *d* is only of recent origin ; in O. F. these words were regularly *ni*, *pié*, *noeu* (see § 233, ii. and *note*).]

S, Ç, SS, X (HARD S).

Initial S (hard S).

Initial *s* (hard *s*) in French comes from

§ 367. Latin initial **s** :—

sábulu : sable ; **sépte** : sept ; **sórtē** : sort (see § 235).

§ 368. Latin initial **c** before **e** or **i** :—

céntu : cent ; **céra** : cire ; **cínere** : cendre ; **cíngulu** : sangle
 (see § 189).

Medial S (hard S).

Medial *s* (hard *s*) in French comes from

§ 369. Latin medial **s** before a vowel and preceded by a consonant :—

versáre : verser ; **míssa** : messe ; **fálsa** : fausse (see § 237 and *note*).

§ 370. Latin medial *ss* followed by *yod* (*ssj*):—

**crássia*: graisse; *messióne*: moisson (see § 242).

§ 371. Latin medial *c* before *e* or *i*, and preceded by a consonant:—

mercéde: merci; *pull(i)cénu*: poussin; *nascénte*: naissant; *crescénte*: croissant (see §§ 190, 191).

§ 372. Latin medial *c* in the groups *cia*, *cio*:—

**aciáriu*: acier; *faciámus*: fassions; **minácia*: menace; *pellícia*: pelisse; **arcióne*: arçon; **macióne*: maçon (see §§ 195, i, ii.).

§ 373. Latin medial *x* between two vowels:—

cóxa: cuisse; *sexagínta*: soixante; *axílla*: aisselle; *exámen*: essaim (see § 200).

§ 374. Latin medial *t* followed by *yod* (*tj*), and preceded by a consonant:—

captiáre: chasser; *cadéntia*: chance; *factióne*: façon; *núptia*: noce (see § 226, i.).

§ 375. Latin medial *t* followed by *yod* (*tj*), and preceded by a vowel, if after the tonic syllable:—

plátea: place; **mátea*: masse; *justítia*: justesse (see § 226, ii.).

§ 376. Latin *c* before final *e* or *i*, and preceded by a consonant (other than *d*):—

hírp(i)ce: herse; *póll(i)ce*: pouce; *rúm(i)ce*: ronce (see § 194, i.).

[*Note*.—Strictly speaking this *s* is not medial but final, the terminal *e* being present merely as supporting vowel (see § 194, ii. *note*).]

Final s (hard s).

Final *s* (hard *s*) in French (which, as a rule, is not sounded, and is sometimes written *x*) comes from

§ 377. Latin *ss* become final:—

pássu: pas; *gróssu*: gros; *tússe*: tour.

[*Note*.—This *s*, though now silent, except in liaison (when it is, in some cases, pronounced soft, e.g. 'pas-encore,' 'gros-enfant') was formerly sounded hard (see § 241, and *note*).]

§ 378. Latin *c* in the group *ciu* become final:—

**bráciu*: bras; **láciu*: lacs (see § 195, iii. and § 376, *note*).

[*Note*.—This *s*, now silent (except in some cases in liaison, when it is pronounced soft, e.g. 'bras-ouverts'), was formerly sounded hard (see § 195, iii., *note* ii.).]

Z (SOFT S).

Medial Z (soft S).

Medial *z* (soft *s*) in French comes from

§ 379. Latin medial *s* between two vowels:—

caúsa: chose; *músa*: muse; *thesáuru*: trésor; *basiáre*: baiser; *cerevisia*: cervoise; *ma(n)síone*: maison; *fusióne*: foison (see §§ 238, 242).

§ 380. Latin medial *t* followed by *yod* (*tj*), and preceded by a vowel, if before the tonic syllable:—

rátióne: raison; *potiόne*: poison; *otiόsu*: oiseux (see § 226, iii.).

§ 381. Latin medial *c* before *e* or *i*, and preceded by a vowel:—

placére: plaisir; *racému*: raisin; *vicínu*: voisin; **cocína*: cuisine (see § 192).

§ 382. Latin *c* before final *e* or *i*, and preceded by *d*:—

únd(e)ci: onze; *duód(e)ci*: douze; *tred(e)ci*: treize (see § 194, ii.).

[*Note*.—Strictly speaking this *z* is not medial but final, the terminal *e* being present merely as supporting vowel (see § 194, ii. *note*).]

Final Z (soft S).

Final *z* (soft *s*) in French (which, as a rule, is not sounded, and is often written *x*) comes from

§ 383. Latin *c* before final *e* or *i*, and preceded by a vowel (being mostly written *x*):—

páce: *paix*; **crúce**: *croix*; **déce**: *dix*; **více**: *fois*; ***berbíce**: *brebis* (see § 194, iii.; and § 382, note).

[*Note*.—This final *s* or *x* is silent except in *dix*, *six*, pronounced alone, when it sounds hard—'deece,' 'seece.' It is proved to be soft by the derivatives *paisible*, *croisade*, *disaine*, and the like (see § 194, iii. note).]

§ 384. Latin *t* before *yod* (*tj*) become final:—
palátiu: *palais*; **prétiu**: *prix* (see § 227).

§ 385. Latin *s* final or become final:—
plús: *plus*; **mélius**: *mieux*; **ad-sátis**: *assez*; **plorátis**: *pleurez*; **násu**: *nez*; **risu**: *ris* (see §§ 241, note; 225, ii, note iii.).

[*Note*.—This final *s* (*x* or *z*) though usually silent, is sounded soft in liaison.]

FRENCH LABIALS.

P, B, F, V.

§ 386. The *Labials* in French are four in number, consisting of two explosives, one voiceless, *p*; one voiced, *b*; and two spirants, one voiceless, *f*; one voiced, *v*.

	Voiceless.	Voiced.
EXPLOSIVES	P	B
SPIRANTS	F	V

P.

Initial P.

§ 387. Initial *p* in French comes from Latin initial *p*:—
pátre: *père*; **pónte**: *pont*; **prúna**: *prune* (see § 248).

Medial P.

Medial *p* in French comes from

§ 388. Latin medial *p* before a vowel and preceded by a consonant:—

serpénte: serpent; **crispáre**: crêper; **sappínu**: sapin (see § 249).

[*Note*.—Latin *pp* becomes *p* in French (see § 249 *note*).]

§ 389. Latin medial *p* in the group *pr*, if preceded by a consonant:—

ásp(e)ru: âpre; **púrp(u)ra**: pourpre; **vésp(e)ras**: vêpres (see § 251, i.).

§ 390. Latin medial *p* in the group *pl*:—

póp(u)lu: peuple; **cóp(u)la**: couple (see § 252).

Final P.

§ 391. Final *p* in French comes from Latin *p* preceded by a consonant, and become final:—

cámpu: champ; ***cólpu**: coup; ***cíppu**: cep (see § 254, i.).

B.*Initial B.*

§ 392. Initial *b* in French comes from Latin initial *b*:—

baróne: baron; **búcca**: bouche; **bránca**: branche (see § 256).

[*Note*.—On **vervéce**: *brebis*, see § 264 *note* ii.]

Medial B.

Medial *b* in French comes from

§ 393. Latin medial *b* before a vowel and preceded by a consonant:—

carbóne: charbon; **álba**: aube; **hérba**: herbe; **gámba**: jambe; **abbáte**: abbé (see § 257).

[*Note*.—Latin *bb* becomes *b* in O. F. (as in **abbáte**: O. F. *abé*); the *bb* in modern French is of recent origin.]

§ 394. Latin medial **b** in the group **br**, if preceded by a consonant:—

úmbra: ombre; **mémbru**: membre; **árb(o)rē**: arbre (see § 259, ii.).

§ 395. Latin medial **b** in the group **bl**:—
táb(u)la: table; **sáb(u)lu**: sable; **mób(i)lē**: meuble (see § 260).

§ 396. Latin medial **v** before a vowel and preceded by a consonant (in a few cases):—
corvéllu: corbeau; **curváre**: courber; **involáre**: embler; (see § 266, note).

§ 397. Medial **b** in French also occurs euphonically

i. Between **m** and **r** in the Romanic group **m'r**:—
núm(e)ru: nombre; **cám(e)ra**: chambre; **cucúm(e)rē**: concombres (see § 295, iv.).

ii. Between **m** and **l** in the Romanic group **m'l**:—
cúm(u)lu: comble; **insím(u)l**: ensemble; **húm(i)lē**: humble (see § 295, iv.).

[Note.—On **márm(o)r**: marbre, see § 295, iv. note ii.]

Final B.

§ 398. Final **b** in French comes from Latin **b**, preceded by a consonant, and become final:—
plúmbu: plomb.

[Note.—This final **b**, which is of recent origin, is not sounded; the O. F. form was *plon*.]

F.

Initial F.

§ 399. Initial **f** in French comes from Latin initial **f** or **ph**:—
fába: fève; **fórtē**: fort; **flámma**: flamme; **fróntē**: front; **phantásma**: fantôme; **phasiánu**: faisan (see § 272).

[Note.—Words like *philosophe*, *phosphore*, &c. are of learned origin.]

Medial F.

Medial *f* in French comes from

§ 400. Latin medial *f* or *ph* (see § 273)

i. Before a vowel and preceded by a consonant:—

inférnu: *enfer*; *perféctu*: O. F. *parfit*.

ii. Between two vowels:—

deféndere: *défendre*; *quadrifúreu*: *carrefour*; *túfa*: *touffe*.

iii. Before a consonant:—

**trif(o)lu*: *trèfle*; *cóph(i)nu*: *coffre*; *súlph(u)re*: *souffre*; *confláre*: *gonfler*.

Final F.

Final *f* in French comes from

§ 401. Latin *p* preceded by a vowel, and become final:—

**cápu*: *chef* (see § 254).

§ 402. Latin *b* preceded by a vowel, and become final:—

trábe: *tréf*; *sébu*: *suiíf* (see § 262).

§ 403. Latin *v* preceded by a vowel or consonant, and become final:—

bóve: *bœuf*; *vívu*: *vif*; *cláve*: *clef*; *sálvu*: *sauf*; *cérvu*: *cerf*; *nérvu*: *nerf* (see § 270).

[*Note*.—Originally this final *f* was silent, as it is still in *clef*, and in the plurals *œufs*, *bœufs*. In O. F. it was dropped before flexional *s*, e.g. *boef*, pl. *boes*; *nef*, pl. *nés*; *cerf*, pl. *cers*.]

V.*Initial V.*

§ 404. Initial *v* in French comes from Latin initial *v*:—

veníre: *venir*; *vóce*: *voix*; *víta*: *vie* (see § 264).

Medial V.

Medial *v* in French comes from

§ 405. Latin medial *v* before a vowel and preceded by a consonant:—

servire: servir; **cálvu**: chauve; **cerv(ə)isia**: cervoise (see § 266).

§ 406. Latin medial *v* between two vowels (in some cases):—

laváre: laver; **vivéntə**: vivant; **movére**: mouvoir (see § 267).

§ 407. Latin medial *v* in the group *vr*, when preceded by a vowel:—

vív(ə)re: vivre (see § 268).

§ 408. Latin medial *p* between two vowels:—

lúpa: louve; **rípa**: rive; **sapére**: savoir (see § 250).

§ 409. Latin medial *p* in the group *pr*, when preceded by a vowel:—

cápra: chèvre; **cópreu**: cuire; **lép(o)re**: lièvre; **víp(ə)ra**: guivre; **píp(ə)re**: poivre (see § 251, ii.).

§ 410. Latin medial *b* between two vowels:—

fába: fève; **cubáre**: couvrir; **hibérnu**: hiver (see § 258).

§ 411. Latin medial *b* in the group *br*, when preceded by a vowel:—

lábra: lèvres; **líbru**: livre; **colúbra**: couleur (see § 259).

*FRENCH LIQUIDS AND NASALS.***R, L, ILL (IL) and M, N, GN (NG).**

§ 412. The *Liquids* in French are two in number, *r* and *l*, both of them dental, to which must be added liquefied *l* (*ill*,

ii). The French Nasals are also two in number, *m* which is a labial, and *n* a dental; to which must be added liquefied *n* (*gn*, *ng*).

	Liquids.	Nasals.
DENTAL	R, L, ILL (IL)	N, GN (NG)
LABIAL		M

R.

Initial R.

§ 413. Initial *r* in French comes from Latin initial *r*:—
*ri*pa: *rive*; *réndita*: *rente*; *ratio*ne: *raison* (see § 277).

Medial R.

Medial *r* in French comes from

§ 414. Latin medial *r*

i. Before a vowel and preceded by a consonant:—

*láb*ra: *lèvre*; *vénd*(*o*)*r*e: *vendre*; *lép*(*o*)*r*e: *lièvre* (see § 278, i. and *note*).

ii. Between two vowels:—

*corón*a: *couronne*; *sérén*u: *serein* (see § 278, ii.).

iii. Before a consonant:—

*portár*e: *porter*; *pórc*u: *porc*; *márgi*ne: *marge* (see § 278, iii.).

§ 415. Medial *r* in French comes in certain cases from Latin medial *n*:—

pámp(*i*)*nu*: *pampre*; *órd*(*i*)*ne*: *ordre*; *cóph*(*i*)*nu*: *coffre*; *týmp*(*a*)*nu*: *timbre* (see § 301, *note* i.).

§ 416. Both medial and initial *r* in French in a few cases come from Latin *l*:—

úlmu: orme; lusciniólu: rossignol; remúlcu: remorque;
scándalu: esclandre; cartúla: chartre; ul(u)láre: hurler;
*fortalítia: forteresse (see § 285, note i.).

§ 417. In certain French words a medial *r*, which was not present in the Latin, has been inserted:—

thesaúru: trésor; perdíce: perdrix; *gólfu: gouffre; fúnda: fronde (see § 281).

Final R.

§ 418. Final *r* in French comes from Latin *r* become final:—

aúru: or; amáru: amer; cantáre: chanter; singuláre: sanglier; férru: fer; túrru: tour (see § 279 and note).

RR.

Double *rr* in French comes from

§ 419. Latin medial double *rr*:—

térra: terre; carrúca: charrue; cúrrere: courre (see § 278, note).

[Note.—Final double *rr* becomes *r* in French:—oárru: char; férru: fer (see § 279).]

§ 420. Latin medial *tr*, *dr*, preceded by a vowel:—

i. pétra: pierre; vítru: verre; latróne: larron; nutríre: nourrir (see § 222, ii.).

ii. héd(e)ra: (l)ierre; quadrátu: carré; ad-rétro: arrière (see § 231, ii.).

L.

Initial L.

§ 421. Initial *l* in French comes from Latin initial *l*:—
lána: laine; léntu: lent; lúpu: loup (see § 283).

§ 422. In certain French words initial *l* is due to the agglutination of the definite article:—

hédéra: *lierre* (O. F. *l'ierre*); **inde-de-máne**: *lendemain* (O. F. *l'endemain*); **indíctu**: *lendit* (O. F. *l'endit*) (see § 283, *note ii.*).

[*Note*.—In *nombril* (*umbilícu*) the initial *n* has been substituted (by dissimilation) for *p*, the agglutinated definite article (*pombril*, *lombril*), see § 440, *note ii.*]

Medial L.

Medial *l* in French comes from

§ 423. Latin medial *l*

i. Before a vowel and preceded by a consonant:—

implére: *empíir*; **táb(u)la**: *table*; **mér(u)lu**: *merle*; **vílla**: *ville* (see § 284 and *note i.*).

ii. Between two vowels:—

téla: *toile*; **calóre**: *chaleur*; **múla**: *mule* (see § 285).

§ 424. Latin medial *tl*, *dl*:—

i. **rót(u)la**: *rôle*; **spát(u)la**: *épaule*; **corrot(u)láre**: *crouler* (see § 223).

ii. **mód(u)lu**: *moule* (see § 232).

§ 425. Medial *l* in French comes (in a few cases) from Latin medial *r*, or *n*:—

i. **paraverédu**: *palefroi*; **peregrínu**: *pèlerin* (see § 278, *note i.*).

ii. **orphanínu**: *orpheín*; **Bononia**: *Boulogne* (see § 302, *note*).

§ 426. In a few French words a medial *l*, which was not present in the Latin, has been inserted:—

incúidine: *encume*; **scándalu**: *escandre* (see § 288).

Final L.

§ 427. Final *l* in French comes from Latin *l* become final:—

sál: sel; mél: miel; ille: il; óllu: col; núllu: nul (see § 286).

LL.

Double *ll* in French (other than in *ill*, i. e. liquefied *l*, see § 430) comes from

§ 428. Latin medial double *ll*:—

ílla: elle; villa: ville; angúilla: anguille; sella: selle (see § 284, note i.).

§ 429. Latin medial *dl*:—

querquéd(u)la: sarcelle (see § 232).

ILL, IL.

ILL, IL (*Liquefied L*)¹.

Medial ILL.

§ 430. Medial *ill* (liquefied *l*) in French comes from Latin medial *l* in combination with *yod* (see § 291).

i. With Latin *yod*:—

pálea: paille; filia: fille; mirabília: merveille; fólía: feuille; melióre: meilleur.

ii. With Romanic *yod*:—

auríc(u)la: oreille; caníc(u)la: chenille; *lentíc(u)la: lentille; coag(u)láre: cailler; vig(i)láre: veiller.

Final IL.

§ 431. Final *il* (liquefied *l*) in French comes from Latin *l* become final in combination with *yod* (see § 291).

i. With Latin *yod*:—

dóliu: deuil; *trepáliu: travail; consíliu: conseil; *sóliu: seuil.

¹ See § 308, note.

ii. With Romanic *yod* :—

óc(u)lu: œil; tórc(u)lu: treuil; solíc(u)lu: soleil; parí-
c(u)lu: pareil; períc(u)lu: péril.

M.

Initial M.

§ 432. Initial *m* in French comes from Latin initial *m* :—
mánu: main; mórtē: mort; múla: mule (see § 292).

Medial M.

Medial *m* in French comes from

§ 433. Latin medial *m*

i. Before a vowel and preceded by a consonant :—
formíca: fourmi; pálma: paume; báls(a)mu: baume (see
§ 293).

ii. Between two vowels :—
clamóre: clameur; amícu: ami; demáne: demain (see § 294).

iii. Before the labials *p*, *b* :—
gámba: jambe; témplu: temple; plúmbu: plomb; impériu:
empire (see § 295, i.).

§ 434. Latin medial *m* in the groups *m'n*, *m'r*, *m'l* :—
lám(i)na: lame; dóm(i)na: dame; sem(i)náre: sēmer;
cám(e)ra: chambre; núm(e)ru: nombre; cúm(u)lu: comble;
húm(i)le: humble (see § 295, iii, iv.).

§ 435. In a few French words a medial *m*, which was not
present in the Latin, has been inserted :—

labrúsca: lambruche; zingíber: gingembre (see § 298).

Final M.

§ 436. Final *m* in French comes from Latin *m* become
final :—

dámu: daim; fáme: faim; nóme(n): nom; exáme(n):
essaim (see § 297).

MM.

Double *mm* in French comes from

§ 437. Latin double *mm* :—

M

flámma : flamme ; **grammática** : grammaire ; **súmma** : somme.

§ 438. Latin single **m** after **ō** or **ŭ** (Romanic **o**) in a few cases :—

póma : pomme ; **súm**us : sommes (see § 294, note).

§ 439. Latin **mn**, and **m'n** (in certain cases) :—
sómnu : somme ; **damnáticu** : dommage ; **hóm(i)nē** : homme ;
fém(i)nā : femme (see § 295, iii. and note).

N.

Initial N.

Initial **n** in French comes from

§ 440. Latin initial **n** :—

nátu : né ; **nídu** : nid ; **númeru** : nombre (see § 300).

[Note.—i. In *niveau* (*libéllu*) the initial **n** is due to dissimilation, the original French form being *livel* (Eng. *level*), whence *liveau*, *niveau*.—ii. In *nombril* (*umbilícu*) the initial **n** is also due to dissimilation, the original form being (owing to the agglutination of the definite article) *lombрил*.]

§ 441. Latin initial **m** (in a few cases) :—

máppa : nappe ; **mátta** : natte ; **méspilu** : nêfle.

Medial N.

Medial **n** in French comes from

§ 442. Latin medial **n**

i. Before a vowel and preceded by a consonant :—

turnáre : tourner ; **cornútu** : cornu ; **álnu** : aune ; **júv(ə)nē** : jeune ; **ás(i)nu** : âne (see § 301).

ii. Between two vowels :—

lána : laine ; **spína** : épine ; **úna** : une (see § 302).

iii. Before the dentals **t**, **d**, and the palatals **c**, **g** :—

pónte : pont ; **véntu** : vent ; **véndere** : vendre ; **respóndere** : répondre ; **tínca** : tanche ; **mán(i)ca** : manche ; **ángelu** : ange (see § 303, i.).

§ 443. Latin medial *n* in the group *n'r* :—

tén(e)ru: tendre; **pón(e)re**: pondre; **pín(ge)re**: peindre (see § 303, iii.).

§ 444. Latin medial *m* before palatals and dentals :—

rúm(i)ce: ronce; **púm(i)ce**: ponce; **sém(i)ta**: sente; **cóm(i)te**: O. F. conte; **ám(i)ta**: (t)ante (see § 295, ii.).

§ 445. Latin medial *m* followed by *yod* :—

símiu: singe; **sómniu**: songe; **vindémia**: vendange; **oom-meátu**: congé (see § 299).

§ 446. Latin medial *n* followed by *yod* (in certain cases) :—

lánœu: lange; **línœu**: linge; **granea**: grange (see § 306, note i.).

§ 447. Latin medial *n* in the group *not* :—

sánctu: saint; **tínctu**: teint; **púncu**: point (see § 306, note ii.).

§ 448. In certain French words a medial *n*, which was not present in the Latin, has been inserted :—

cucúmere: concombres; **joculáre**: jongler; **rédde(re)**: rendre; **aquilégia**: ancolie (O. F. *anquelie*) (see § 305).

Final *N*.

Final *n* in French comes from

449. Latin *n* final or become final :—

nón: non; **mánu**: main; **ánnu**: an; **dónu**: don; **vínu**: vin; **únu**: un (see § 304, i.).

§ 450. Latin *m* final or become final :—

rém: rien; **m(e)um**: mon; **t(u)úm**: ton; **hómo**: on; **aeráme(n)**: airain; **alúme(n)**: alun (see §§ 296, 297).

NN.

Double *nn* in French comes from

§ 451. Latin double *nn* :—

annuntiáre: annoncer; **cánna**: canne; **pannéllu**: panneau; **pénna**: penne.

§ 452. Latin single *n* after *o* (and sometimes *e* and *a*):—
bóna: bonne; *coróna*: couronne; *sonáre*: sonner; *donáre*:
 donner; *téneam*: tienne; *véniam*: vienne; *anéllu*: anneau
 (see § 302).

§ 453. Latin *mn*:—
colúmna: colonne; **sollemnále*: solennel; *Garúmna*:
 Garonne (see § 295, iii. *n*).

GN (NG).

GN, NG (*Liquefied N*)¹.

Medial GN.

Medial *gn* (liquefied *n*) in French comes from

§ 454. Latin medial *n* in combination with *yod*:—
unióne: oignon; *línea*: ligne; *vínea*: vigne; *senióre*:
 seigneur; **araneáta*: araignée; *plángam*: plaigne (see
 § 306).

§ 455. Latin medial *gn* (in certain cases):—
agnéllu: agneau; *dignáre*: daigner; *insígnu*: enseigne
 (see § 211 *a*).

Final NG.

§ 456. Final *ng* (liquefied *n*) in French comes from Latin *n*
 become final in combination with *yod*:—

púgnu: poing; *sígnu*: seing; *stágnu*: étang; **cotóneu*:
 coing.

[*Note*.—This *ng* is merely the graphic representation of a former
 liquefied *n*, the *g* being no longer sounded (see § 333, *note* ii).]

¹ See § 308, *note*.

BOOK II.

THE STUDY OF GRAMMATICAL FORMS OR INFLEXIONS.

THE second Book will be occupied with the study of inflexions, that is, of the modifications undergone by nouns, &c., when declined, and by verbs when conjugated. The Declension of substantive, article, adjective, and pronoun, and the Conjugation of verbs, will form the two natural divisions of this Book.

To make the study of the different parts of speech complete, invariable as well as inflected words will be included here.

PART I.

DECLENSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Case.

§ 457. OF the six cases of Latin declension, the nominative indicated the subject, the other five the 'government' or relation.

Now if we place the Latin and French languages side by side we shall see that the six cases of the mother-language

are reduced to one in the language derived from it. How has this come about? Did those six cases exist to the end in Latin? Has the French never had more than one? For the answer to these questions we must turn once more to the history of the language.

§ 458. The tendency to simplify and reduce the number of cases was early manifested in the popular Latin; the cases expressed shades of thought too delicate and subtle for the coarse mind of the Barbarian. Being therefore unable to manipulate the learned and complicated machinery of the Latin declensions, with their various case-terminations, he constructed a simple system of his own.

The classical Latin genitive was replaced by a periphrasis formed by means of the preposition *dē* with the accusative; thus, *liber Petri*, 'the book of Peter,' became *liber dē Petrum*.

Similarly the classical dative was replaced by a periphrasis with the preposition *ad* and the accusative; thus, *do librum Petro*, 'I give the book to Peter,' became *do librum ad Petrum*. Again, the classical ablative was replaced by a periphrasis with the preposition *dē* (or other preposition) and the accusative; thus, *venit e campo, stat in domo*, became *venit dē campum, stat in domum*. The vocative was assimilated to the nominative. Thus the six classical Latin cases were reduced to two, viz. the nominative, which marked the subject, and the accusative (the case which occurred most frequently in conversation¹), which marked the object or relation. Eventually the nominative also disappeared in popular Latin, except in the case of Latin masculines of the second declension in *-us*.

¹ This fact was completely established by M. Paul Meyer in 1860 in a paper presented to the *École des Chartes*, with proofs derived from Latin MSS. of the Merovingian era.

*FORMATION OF THE OLD FRENCH
DECLENSION.*

Masculine Substantives.

§ 459. The Old French declension of masculine substantives was based upon the Latin second declension of masculines in **-us** and **-er**.

§ 460. The classical Latin second declension in **-us** was reduced in popular Latin to

Sing.	{ Nom. mur Acc. murum	Plur.	{ Nom. muri Acc. muros
-------	--	-------	---

which in Old French became

Sing.	{ Nom. murs Acc. mur	Plur.	{ Nom. mur Acc. murs .
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Thus in Old French this declension was reduced to two forms, one with *s*, the other without *s*, which constituted (in reverse order) the two cases of the singular and plural.

§ 461. The classical Latin declension in **-er** was reduced in popular Latin to

Sing.	{ Nom. liber Acc. librum	Plur.	{ Nom. libri Acc. libros
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which in Old French (from the eleventh to the twelfth century) became

Sing.	{ Nom. livre Acc. livre	Plur.	{ Nom. livre Acc. livres .
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Thus in Old French this declension was also reduced to two forms, one with *s* for the accusative plural, and one without *s* for the nominative and accusative singular, and the nominative plural.

§ 462. On these two types, *murs* from **mur**, and *livre* from **liber**, was modelled the declension of all other masculine substantives, whether they belonged to the third, fourth, or fifth Latin declensions; such as *pain* from **panem**, *fruit* from **fructum**, *di* from **diem**, and *père* from **patrem**, *frère* from **fratrem**, &c.

§ 463. It thus resulted that all masculine substantives which terminated otherwise than in (so-called) *e* mute, were declined after the model of *murs*; e. g. sing. *pains*—*pain*, plur. *pain*—*pains*; sing. *fruits* (= *fruits*)—*fruit*, plur. *fruit*—*fruits* (= *fruits*); sing. *dis*—*di*, plur. *di*—*dis*, &c. And all which terminated in (so-called) *e* mute were declined after the model of *livre*; e. g. sing. *père*—*père*, plur. *père*—*pères*, &c.

§ 464. This result was arrived at, as will be seen, by the method of *analogy*, in defiance of etymology. Thus in the declension after the model of *murs*, the forms of the nominative singular and plural were supplied by the simple expedient of borrowing the form of the accusative plural for the nominative singular, and that of the accusative singular for the nominative plural. Hence the *s* of the Latin nominative plural (*pan-es*, *fruct-us*, *di-es*) was ignored, and disappeared altogether in the French declension, in which the etymologically incorrect forms *pain*, *fruit*, *di*, were adopted for the nominative on the analogy of the etymologically correct form *mur* (from *muri*), which was identical in form with the accusative singular *mur* (from *murum*). This disregard of etymology is more marked still in the case of imparisyllabic nouns of the third declension, which had a syllable less in the nominative singular than in the oblique cases, e. g. *leo*, acc. *leonem*; *carbo*, acc. *carbonem*; *serpens*, acc. *serpentem*. In the French declension the nominative singular of these nouns, instead of being formed from *léo*, *cárbo*, *sérpens*, was borrowed from the form of the accusative plural, and became *léons* (*leónes*), *charbons* (*carbónes*), *serpenz* (*serpéntes*).

In the declension after the model of *livre* the same thing happened. The *s* of the Latin nominative plural (*patr-es*, *fratr-es*) was ignored, and the forms *père*, *frère* were formed on the model of the accusative singular *père*, *frère* (from *patrem*, *fratrem*). The nominative singular, in conformity with the model *livre*, had no *s*.

§ 465. Originally, therefore, the declension of masculine substantives in Old French consisted of the two types:— i. *murs*—*mur*, *mur*—*murs*; ii. *livre*—*livre*, *livre*—*livres*. Subsequently, however (in the latter half of the twelfth century), the distinction between the type *murs* and the type *livre* (consisting in the absence of the final *s* in the nom. sing. of the latter) was obliterated, the two types being assimilated by the addition of *s* to the nom. sing. of the type *livre*. Thenceforward all masculines were declined in Old French after a single type, that of *murs*; the nominative singular of *livre*, *père*, *frère*, &c., becoming *livres*, *pères*, *frères*, &c.

§ 466. An exception to what has been stated above must be noted in the case of a certain number of imparisyllabic nouns of the third declension, which, being personal designations, were frequently employed in the vocative. This case, as we have seen (§ 458), was confounded with the nominative, and its frequent use, especially in the singular, led to the retention in these nouns of the original form of the nominative singular, which all the other nouns had lost. In the remaining cases the general rule was adhered to, viz. that the accusative singular supplied the form of the nominative plural, and, by the addition of *s*, that of the accusative plural. These words then, of which the following are examples, were declined:—

Sing.	Plur.
<i>cuens</i> (cômes)— <i>comte</i> (cômitem),	<i>comte</i> — <i>comtes</i>
<i>on</i> (hómo)— <i>home</i> (hóminem),	<i>home</i> — <i>homes</i>
<i>ber</i> (báro)— <i>baron</i> (barónem),	<i>baron</i> — <i>barons</i>
<i>fel</i> (félo)— <i>felon</i> (felónem),	<i>felon</i> — <i>felons</i>
<i>prestre</i> (présbyter)— <i>provoire</i> (pres- býterum),	<i>provoire</i> — <i>provoires</i>
<i>lere</i> (látro)— <i>larron</i> (latrónem),	<i>larron</i> — <i>larrons</i>
<i>sire</i> (sénior)— <i>seigneur</i> (seniorem),	<i>seigneur</i> — <i>seigneurs</i>
<i>emperere</i> (imperátor)— <i>empereur</i> (im- peratórem),	<i>empereur</i> — <i>empereurs</i> .

In the latter half of the twelfth century, at the time when, as we have seen (§ 465), the type *livre* was assimilated to that of *murs*, nouns of this class also received a final *s* in the nominative singular, in spite of the fact that the form of the latter was already distinctive in their case; thus we get the forms *hons*, *bers*, *fels*, *prestres*, *leres*, *sires*, *empereres*, &c., corresponding, like *livres*, to the type *murs*.

[*Note*.—Traces of these old declensions still exist in French (see § 473).]

Feminine Substantives.

§ 467. The Old French declension of feminine substantives was simpler than that of the masculines. Whether they belonged to the first (*rósam*), third (*mátrem*, *mórtem*), fourth (*mánum*), or fifth (*fáciem*) declension in Latin, they were all treated alike in Old French after the following model:—

Sing.	{	Nom. <i>rose, mère, mort, main, face</i>
	{	Acc. <i>rose, mère, mort, main, face</i>
Plur.	{	Nom. <i>roses, mères, morts, mains, faces</i>
	{	Acc. <i>roses, mères, morts, mains, faces.</i>

[*Note*.—These and other feminines existed only in the form of the accusative in the popular Latin. The forms *rosam*, *matrem*, &c., *rosas*, *matres*, &c., were in common use for the nominative singular and plural respectively. The word *sœur* (O. F. *suer*), which comes from the nominative *sóror*, forms an exception. This word was treated in the same way as the masculine imparisyllabics (see § 466). In O. F. the oblique form *sereur* (from *sorórem*) also existed.]

§ 468. In the twelfth century feminine substantives which terminated otherwise than in (so-called) *e* mute received an *s* in the nominative singular, doubtless on the analogy of the masculine declension (see § 465); thus we find such forms as sing. *amors*—*amor*, plur. *amors*—*amors*; sing. *mers*—*mer*, plur. *mers*—*mers*; sing. *bontez* (= *bontets*)—*bontet*, plur. *bontez*—*bontez*; sing. *cles* (= *clef* + *s*)—*clef*, plur. *cles*—*cles*, &c.

Indeclinable Substantives.

§ 469. Certain substantives in Old French were invariable as regards both case and number.

As the letter *s* is the sole sign of inflection (except in the case of certain imparisyllabics—see § 466) in the French declension, it follows that all substantives whose Latin radical ended in *s*, or in a letter or group which becomes *s* (*x*, *z*) in French, were indeclinable.

§ 470. These indeclinable substantives may be classed in four groups, according as they are derived from Latin

i. Masculines whose radical ended in *s* :—

sens (séns-um), *mois* (méns-em), *nez* (nás-um), *cours* (cúrs-um), *vers* (vérs-um), *ours* (úrs-um).

ii. Feminines whose radical ended in *c* :—

voix (vóc-em), *noix* (núc-em), *paix* (pác-em), *croix* (crúc-em), *faux* (fálc-em).

iii. Neuters whose radical ended in the group *ci* (*que*) or *ti* (*te*) :—

bras (bráci-um), *soulas* (soláci-um), *lacs* (láque-um), *prix* (préti-um), *palais* (pálati-um), *puits* (púte-um).

iv. Neuters whose termination was in *s* :—

corps (córpus), *fonds* (*fúndus), *lez* (látus), *temps* (témpus), *pis* (péctus).

Disappearance of the French Declension.

§ 471. The French declension reached its full development in the middle of the twelfth century; at the end of the thirteenth century it began to be impaired; and at the end of the fourteenth century it disappeared altogether. Of the two cases, the nominative and the accusative, of which it had consisted, it was the former which was abandoned, as being the case which was less frequently employed. At the present time the French substantive (with a few exceptions, to be noticed later) has but one form, that of the accusative, which is employed indifferently as subject or object, direct or indirect.

§ 472. It is this declension in two cases which constitutes the essential difference between Old and Modern French. In the former, as in Latin, the distinction of cases rendered the order of the words in a sentence a matter of no consequence as far as the sense was concerned. Just as in Latin one could say equally well, without ambiguity, either **rex conduit caballum**, or **caballum conduit rex**, so in O. F. the order might be either *li rois conduit le cheval* or *le cheval conduit li rois*, the *s* which marked the subject (*rois*=*rex*), making ambiguity impossible.

Remains of the Old Declension.

§ 473. Although the French declension died out and disappeared at the end of the fourteenth century, it left behind it many important traces in forms, which, but for our knowledge of their history, would remain as so many unaccountable anomalies.

These apparently anomalous forms are due to the fact that certain substantives have retained down to the present time the form of the nominative; in some cases the accusative has been retained as well, in others the nominative alone remains.

- i. Substantives which have retained both nominative and accusative :—

sire (from *sénior*) and *seigneur* (from *seniorem*)
gars (from **warcio*) and *garçon* (from **warciórem*)
copain (from *compánio*) and *compagnon* (from *companiõem*)
on (from *hómo*) and *homme* (from *hóminem*)

To these may be added :—

nonne (from *nónna*) and *nonnain*¹.

- ii. Substantives which have retained the nominative only :—

fil (from *fílius*)—O. F. *fil* (from *filium*)
sœur (from *sóror*)—O. F. *sereur* (from *sorórem*)
prêtre (from *présbyter*)—O. F. *provoire* (from *presbyterum*)

¹ On the origin of the accusatives in *-ain*, see M. Gaston Paris in *Romania*, Tom. xxiii.

pâtre (from *pāstor*)—O. F. *pāteur* (from *pastōrem*)
peintre (from **pīnctor*)—O. F. *peinteur* (from **pīnctōrem*)
vierge (from *vīrgo*)—O. F. *virgine* (from *virginem*)
chantre (from *cāntor*)—O. F. *chanteur* (from *cantōrem*)
ancêtre (from *antecēssor*)—O. F. *ancesseur* (from *anteces-
 sórem*)
traître (from *traditor*)—O. F. *traïteur* (from *traditōrem*).

To these may be added the proper names

Aude—O. F. *Audain*,

Eve—O. F. *Evain*,

and such names as *Charles* (*Cārolus*), *Georges* (*Geōrgius*),
Gilles (*Egidius*), *Jacques* (*Jācobus*), *Jules* (*Jūlius*), *Louis*
(Ludovīcus), &c., which the final *s* shows to have been former
 nominatives.

[*Note*.—i. The modern *pasteur* is not a survival of O. F. *pāteur*,
 but simply a learned word borrowed from *pastōrem*.—ii. The modern
chanteur comes, not from *cantōrem*, like O. F. *chanteur*, but from
cantatōrem (whence O. F. *chantëor*, *chanteeur*), the nominative form
 of which was *chantère* (from *cantātor*).]

Remains of Latin Genitive Plural.

§ 474. The Latin genitive plural left a few traces in French.
 The only instances in which it still survives are *leur* (from
illōrum) and *chandeleur* (from *candelārūm* [*festā*]). In O. F.
 these forms were more common; thus we find *ancienor*
(antianōrum), *paienor* (*paganōrum*), *Francor* (*Francōrum*)¹,
 &c.

Transition from synthetic Latin to analytic French.

§ 475. Between Latin, which is a synthetic language, and
 modern French, which is analytic, there was an intermediate
 and transitional or semi-synthetic period. This transition
 period is marked by the Old French declension, which
 indicates a halting-point half-way between synthesis and

¹ In the phrases *tens ancienor*, *gent paienor*, *lei paienor*, *geste Francor*, &c.
 See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, iv. 1, v. 31, xvi. 192, &c.

analysis¹. Yet even this system was too complicated for the minds of the thirteenth century, and just as the Barbarians had reduced the six Latin cases to two (§ 458), so in the thirteenth century the system of the French declensions was simplified by their reduction to one common type, viz. that of the second declension, which was selected as being the one most generally used. Now the characteristic of this second declension was an *s* in the subjective case of the singular—*murs* (*murus*); and accordingly, in violation of the genius of the language and of the laws of Latin derivation, men took to saying *li pastres*, as they were wont to say *li murs*. And thus the laws of derivation were broken, because the Latin *pāstor* has no casual *s* in the nominative; nor has it any need of that letter, since it is itself distinguished from the accusative *pastōrem* by the position of the tonic accent. This addition of an *s* to the nominative of all such words as *pastre* (see § 466), while seeming to simplify the inflexion of nouns, in reality complicated it, and has in fact destroyed the whole system of French declension. Henceforward French declension, which had previously been founded on the natural laws of derivation, came to rest on this suffix *s*, which is nothing but an arbitrary and artificial form. As we have seen, in its first period (ninth to twelfth century) French declension depended on etymology; in its second (twelfth to fourteenth century) it rested

¹ Raynouard, who in 1811 discovered the laws of the French declension, gave them the general name of 'the rule of the *s*,' by reason of the *s* which so commonly marks the subject. This discovery is one of the most important services which have been rendered to the study of Old French, and to the history of the language. 'Without this key,' Littré says most truly, 'everything seemed to be an exception or a barbarism; with it there is brought to light a system, far shorter indeed than the Latin, but still neat and regular.' Much discussion has taken place as to the usefulness and exact application of this 'rule of the *s*' during the middle ages: its practical utility is doubtless restricted, and it has often been broken through; but the existence of the rule (even more than its utility) is a fact of extreme interest, as it allows us to mark the stages of transition from Latin to French, being, as it were, a halt in the passage from synthesis to analysis.

on mere analogy. The former is natural, the latter artificial; the former sprang from the ear, the latter from the eye.

Thus then, in its first epoch, French declension was natural, based on etymology and the laws of derivation; and for that very reason it was specially frail, 'since its rules were only second-hand,—in other words, it had relations with Latin forms and accentuation, without any stability or guarantee in the proper connection and knitting together of its own tongue¹.' And so almost from the first it was destined to perish, and the unlucky assimilation of all the declensions to one type, by sacrificing individual forms to the one of most general occurrence, failed to save it from ruin. Rejected by the common people from the thirteenth century downwards, and constantly violated at the same time by the learned, French declension was completely disintegrated by the close of the fourteenth century. It disappeared, and the distinction between the subjective and objective cases perished: thenceforward one case alone was used for each number. And this was, as we have seen, the objective (or accusative) case, which was usually longer and more consistent than the subjective (or nominative), and also occurred more frequently in course of conversation. Thenceforward the subjective case vanished, and modern declension in one case was established.

[*Note*.—In one particular instance, that of *on* (*hómo*), the nominative form has been retained and restricted to the use of the subjective case alone. *On* never occurs save as the subject of the verb.]

§ 476. This adoption of the accusative case as the type and form of the Latin substantive had a curious result in the formation of the numbers. In the declension

Sing.	{	Nom. <i>murs</i> (<i>mur<u>s</u></i>)	Plur.	{	<i>mur</i> (<i>mur<u>i</u></i>)
		Acc. <i>mur</i> (<i>mur<u>u</u>m</i>)			<i>murs</i> (<i>mur<u>o</u>s</i>)

the accusative case was in the singular *mur*, in the plural *murs*. In the fourteenth century, in the new declension, the

¹ M. Littré.

accusative case, as we have said, was adopted as the type, and consequently the *s* of the objective case in the plural *murs* (*muros*) became the general sign of the plural, while the absence of *s* from the objective singular *mur* (*murum*), formed the distinguishing mark of the singular. Had, on the other hand, the nominative been taken as the type, and the accusative been abandoned, we should have had *murs* (*murus*) in the singular, and *mur* (*muri*) in the plural; and the *s*, which now marks the plural, would in that case have distinguished the singular instead.

From the moment when the final *s* ceased to characterise the cases, and became the distinctive mark of the plural number, the French medieval system of declensions ceased to exist; the fifteenth century ignored it altogether; and when, in the time of Louis XI, Villon attempted to write a ballad in French of the thirteenth century, so completely had the declension been forgotten, that he failed to observe the 'rule of *s*,' and his imitation consequently wants the distinctive mark of the middle ages. It is curious to see how the mistakes made by a writer, who in the fifteenth century tried to write a ballad in the manner of the thirteenth, have been detected by the greater philological skill of our own day.

Since declension in two cases was, as we have seen, the distinctive and fundamental characteristic of Old French, the loss of these cases at once gave to the language in use before the fourteenth century the mark of old age, and established between Old and Modern French a line of demarcation far more distinct than any which exists in Italy or Spain between the language of the thirteenth century and that of the nineteenth.

Genders.

§ 477. Of the three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, which existed in Latin, only the two former were retained in French, the neuter being rejected. This suppression of the neuter is not to be regretted, for all ap-

preciation of the reasons which had originally assigned the neuter rather than the masculine gender to this or that object in Latin had been wholly lost; and, furthermore, the confusion of the two genders in Low Latin had prepared the way for this simplification, which was adopted in the Romance languages. The neuter is useless, except where, as in English, it applies exclusively to whatever is neither male nor female.

§ 478. This suppression of the neuter, which dates a long way back—long before the irruptions of the Barbarians—was brought about in two ways:—

- i. Neuter substantives were treated as masculines. Already in Plautus such forms as *dorsus*, *aevus*, *collus*, *guttur*, *rem*, *cubitus*, &c., occur; and in inscriptions dating before the fourth century, we find *brachius*, *monumentus*, *collegius*, *fatus*, *metallus*, &c.; and in the *Lex Salica*, *animalem*, *retem*, *membrus*, *vestigius*, *precious*, *folius*, *palatius*, *templus*, *tectus*, *stabulus*, *judicius*, *placitus*, &c. However, it is needless to multiply proofs of this fact, which had already been remarked and recorded by a rhetorician of the Empire, Curius Fortunatianus (*circ.* A. D. 450); he says: ‘*Romani vernacula plurima et neutra multa masculino genere potius enuntiant, ut hunc theatrum, et hunc prodigium.*’
- ii. Neuter substantives were treated as feminines, the final *a* of the neuter plural (as in *pecora*, *vestimenta*, &c.) having by a strange error been mistaken for the termination of the first declension. Hence in texts of the fifth century we find such accusatives as *pecoras*, *pergamenam*, *vestimentas*, &c.

§ 479. As a rule Latin neuters singular, of whatever declension, became masculine in French:—

caelum: *le ciel*; *donum*: *le don*; *vinum*: *le vin*; &c.; *corpus*: *le corps*; *tempus*: *le temps*; *pectus*: *le pis*; &c.; *cornu*: *le cor*, &c.

In two cases only have they become feminine, viz. **mare** : *la mer*, and **jumentum** : *la jument*.

§ 480. In a large number of cases Latin neuters plural, of whatever declension, have, owing to the confusion (noticed above, § 478, ii.) of the final **a** with the termination of feminines singular of the first declension, become feminine in French :—

labra : *la lèvre* ; **festā** : *la fête* ; **folia** : *la feuille* ; **pira** : *la poire* ; **gaudia** : *la joie* ; **fila** : *la file*, &c. ; **fulgura** : *la foudre* ; **mirabilia** : *la merveille* ; **insignia** : *une enseigne* ; **opera** : *une œuvre*, &c. ; **cornua** : *la corne*, &c.

§ 481. Certain words derived from Latin neuters plural, which were originally feminine in French, are now either masculine or feminine according to the sense in which they are employed. Thus we have :—

spatia : *un espace*, but *une espace* when used as a typographical term.

fulgura : *la foudre*, but *le foudre* when used figuratively ('il est un foudre de guerre'), or as an attribute of Jupiter ('l'aigle de Jupiter avec son foudre').

opera : *une œuvre*, but *un œuvre* when used as a term of art ('l'œuvre d'un graveur'), or of alchemy ('le grand œuvre').

officia : *un office*, but *une office* ('pantry').

hordeā : *orge* (fem.), but *orge mondé*, *orge perlé*, *orge carré*.

organa : *un orgue*, but *les orgues* (fem.).

§ 482. The gender applied in French to Latin masculine and feminine substantives depends upon a variety of circumstances, such as analogy, the character of the terminations, and the like, which it would be impossible to examine in detail here. A few individual cases may be noted, which will show that the caprice of grammarians is largely responsible for the many anomalies of French gender.

For instance, side by side with **dolōrem** : *la douleur*,

calórem: *la chaleur*, **errórem**: *une erreur*, &c., we find **laborem**: *le labeur*, **honorem**: *un honneur*, and, more strangely still, **amórem**: *amour* (masc.), but **amóres**: *amours* (fem.). Originally all these words from Latin masculines in **-orem** were feminine in French, but the Latinists of the sixteenth century, disliking this want of correspondence between the French and Latin genders, attempted to convert all such words into masculines. This attempt failed, as it deserved to do, but it left its mark in the irregularities instanced above.

The double genders of such words as *hymne*, *automne*, *gens*, &c., as well as of those already noticed (§ 481), may be accounted for in a similar way. In fact, it may be stated as a general rule that these distinctions of gender as applied to one and the same word, sometimes with a difference of sense (as in *espace*, *hymne*, &c.), sometimes without (as in *automne*, *gens*, &c.), or in some cases according as they are used in the singular or in the plural (as in *amour*—*amours*, *orgue*—*orgues*, &c.), are mere barbarisms and idle subtleties invented by grammarians, and not products of the historical growth of the language.

[*Note*.—In certain cases a difference of gender between the singular and plural of a word may be accounted for etymologically; e. g. *délíce* (masc.) comes from *delícium*, while *délices* (fem.) comes from *delicias*.]

Numbers.

§ 483. French, like Latin and Aeolian Greek¹, has only two numbers, singular and plural. Of these, the latter is distinguished from the former by the addition of the letter *s*. How has this come about? Were we to consider Modern French by itself, without referring back to its origin, we should find it impossible to understand why this letter *s* was chosen to indicate the plural of nouns. It certainly looks as if it were an arbitrary choice, and as if any other letter might

¹ The Aeolian, unlike the other Greek dialects, had no dual.

have done as well ; and one might be tempted to see in this choice nothing but an agreement among grammarians to establish the distinction between singular and plural in this particular way—a distinction which appeals to a Frenchman's eyes and not to his ears, seeing that in most cases the *s* is not sounded. But in reality there is good reason for this *s* ; and if we pass from Modern to Old French, we shall see what it is. We shall there find, it will be remembered, a declension with two cases :

Sing.	{	Nom.	<i>murs</i> (<i>mur</i> ^s)	Plur.	{	Nom.	<i>mur</i> (<i>muri</i> ^s)
		Acc.	<i>mur</i> (<i>murum</i>)			Acc.	<i>murs</i> (<i>muros</i> ^s).

We know that in the fourteenth century the subjective case was suppressed in both numbers, and the objective retained (*mur*, *murum* ; *murs*, *muros*^s). Whence it came that (*mur* being taken as the type of the singular, and *murs* of the plural) the letter *s* became the characteristic mark of the plural (see § 476). Had the subjective case, on the contrary, been retained instead of the objective, the *s*, which is now the mark of the plural, would have become the mark of the singular (*murs*, *mur*^s ; *mur*, *muri*^s).

§ 484. Certain substantives, like *vitrum*, *glacies*, &c., which had no plural in Latin, have one in French ; as *verres*, *glaces*, &c. Others which had no singular in Latin have both numbers in French : as *menace* (**minaciæ*) ; *noce* (*nuptiæ*) ; *relique* (*reliquiæ*) ; *gésier* (*gigeria*) ; *arme* (*arma*) ; *geste* (*gesta*), &c.

Others, again, which had both numbers in Latin, have only the plural in French : as *mœurs* (*mores*) ; *ancêtres* (*antecessor*) ; *gens* (*gens*). As late as the seventeenth century *gens* had a singular, as we see from a couplet of Malherbe :

‘ Oh ! combien lors aura de veuves
La gent qui porte le turban ; ’

and La Fontaine has ‘ *la gent* trotte-menue.’ *Ancêtre* (*antecessor*—see § 473, ii.) was employed as a singular throughout

the middle ages, and it was so used also by Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Chateaubriand. The same is true of the word *pleurs*. Bossuet followed the seventeenth-century usage when he wrote '*le pleur éternel*.'

CHAPTER II.

THE ARTICLE.

§ 485. There was no article in Latin; and, though Quintilian maintained that the language lost nothing thereby¹, it is certain that this was a real deficiency, and that, in order to supply it, the Romans, for the sake of distinctness, often used the demonstrative pronoun *ille*, where the French now has *le, la, les*. There are plenty of examples, e.g. Cicero says: '*Annus ille quo,*' '*ille alter,*' '*illa rerum domina fortuna;*' Apuleius: '*Quorsum ducis asinum illum?*' Petronius: '*Funerata est pars illa corporis mei quae quondam Achilles eram;*' and Jerome: '*Vae autem homini illi per quem filius hominis tradetur;*' &c.

Though not rare in classical Latin, this usage was infinitely more common in the popular Latin, especially after the reduction (about the fifth century), of the six cases to two—a change which made the use of an article necessary. In popular Latin the pronoun *ille* was appropriated to this use: '*Dicebat ille teloneus de illo mercado ad illos necuciantes*'².

¹ He says, '*Noster sermo articulos non desiderat*' (*De Instit. Orat.* i. 7). Of all the Indo-European languages, Greek and the Germanic languages alone have an article. Latin and Slavonic have none; Sanskrit only a rudimentary one.

² From a chartulary of the seventh century.

The pronoun thus transformed, and reduced to two cases, became in Old French as follows :—

	MASC.	FEM.
Sing.	{ Nom. ille <i>li</i> Acc. illum (<i>lo</i>) <i>le</i>	illa <i>la</i> illam <i>la</i>
Plur.	{ Nom. illi <i>li</i> Acc. illos (<i>los</i>) <i>les</i>	illæ <i>les</i> ¹ illas <i>les</i> .

So they said, distinguishing carefully between the two cases :

‘**Ille** caballus est fortis,’ ‘**Li** chevals est fort.’
 ‘**Illum** vidi caballum.’ ‘J’ai vu *le* cheval.’

And consequently, when in the fourteenth century French declensions disappeared with the loss of the subjective case, the masculine article became *le* (**illum**), *les* (**illos**); and the feminine *la* (**illam**), *les* (**illas**). In this way we arrive at the modern article.

[*Note*.—The article forms a remarkable exception to the rule of the continuance of the Latin tonic accent in French. M. G. Paris explains this anomaly thus :—‘The Latin comic writers reckon the first syllable of **ille**, **illa**, **illum**, as short; and these words may be regarded simply as enclitics, as is shown by the compounds **ellum**=**en illum**, **ellam**=**en illam**. Had the accent been marked, the first syllable would never have been shortened or suppressed in composition. Consequently it is not surprising that, by a solitary exception, the French language has retained only the latter syllable of this word : **il-le**=*le*; **il-la**=*la*; **il-li**=*lui*; **il-los**=*les*’ (*Accent Latin*, p. 59).]

§ 486. Combined with the prepositions *de*, *à*, *en*, the masculine article in Old French produced :—

SINGULAR.

1. *del* (*de le*), which became *dou*, and thence *du*, as now
2. *al* (*à le*), „ *au*, as now
3. *enl* (*en le*), which has disappeared.

¹ See § 467 as to the declension of feminines.

PLURAL.

1. *dels* (*de les*), which became *des*
2. *als* (*à les*), „ *aux*
3. *ès* (*en les*), which has disappeared, with the exception of a few traces, as in *maître-ès-arts*, *docteur-ès-sciences*, *ès-mains*, *S. Pierre-ès-liens*.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADJECTIVE.

Case and Number.

§ 487. The adjective in Old French followed the same rules of declension as the substantive, and had in consequence at first two distinct cases:—

Sing.	Nom. <i>bonus</i>	<i>bons</i>	Plur.	Nom. <i>boni</i>	<i>bon</i>
	Acc. <i>bonum</i>	<i>bon</i>		Acc. <i>bonos</i>	<i>bons</i> .

And as in the fourteenth century the nominative case disappeared from the declension of the substantive and the form of the accusative alone was preserved, so in the same way it came about that the two cases of the adjective were reduced to one, viz. the accusative. Similarly the final *s* came to be the distinctive mark of the plural in the case of the adjective, as it was in the case of the substantive. What has been said above, therefore, as to the declension of the substantive (§§ 459-472) applies equally to the adjective, and need not be repeated here.

Genders.

§ 488. In classical Latin there were two classes of adjectives—the first comprised those with three terminations, having a separate form for each gender (e.g. masc. *bon-us*,

fem. *bon-a*, neut. *bon-um*); the second comprised those with only two terminations, having one form for the masculine and feminine, and one for the neuter (e.g. masc. and fem. *virid-is*, neut. *virid-e*). The neuter gender having disappeared in French, as we have seen (§ 477), the three terminations of adjectives of the first class were reduced to two (masc. *bon*, fem. *bonne*), while the two terminations of those of the second class were reduced to one in French (masc. and fem. *vert*). Thus in adjectives of the latter class there was originally no distinction between the forms of the masculine and feminine, so that in the thirteenth century we find 'un *grand* home,' and 'une *grand* femme'; 'un coup *mortel*,' and 'une âme *mortel*'; 'un champ *vert*' and 'une plaine *vert*,' &c.

§ 489. In the fourteenth century the reason of the distinction between adjectives of two terminations and those of one, not being any longer understood, the latter were supposed to be *irregular*; and accordingly, in defiance of etymology, the two classes were assimilated, and the feminines *grande*, *mortelle*, *verte*, &c., were formed on the analogy of *bonne*, &c.

§ 490. Traces of the old form of the feminine still exist in the expressions *grand'chambre*, *grand'chère*, *grand'chose*, *grand'croix*, *grand'faim*, *grand'garde*, *grand'hâte*, *grand'mère*, *grand'messe*, *grand'route*, *grand'rue*, and the like—words which are relics of the older language. The apostrophe which is placed after *grand* in these expressions is due to the ignorance of Vaugelas and the grammarians of the seventeenth century, who, concluding that a final *e* (marking the feminine form) had been dropped, adopted this means of making the supposed omission apparent to the eye.

Adjectives which have become Substantives.

§ 491. Certain words, now substantives in French, but derived from Latin adjectives, such as *domestique* (*domesticum*), *sanglier* (*singulārem*), *bouclier* (*bucculārium*), *grenade* (*granātum*), *linge* (*līneum*), *coursier* (*cursārium*), *ramage*

(*ramaticum*), &c., were adjectives in O.F. in accordance with their Latin origin. Thus formerly the terms were:—

*serviteur domestique*¹, a domestic, i.e. a man attached to the service of the house (*domus*).

porc sanglier, a wild boar, i.e. one which is of solitary habits.

écu bouclier, a 'buckler,' i.e. a shield arched or bowed.

pomme grenade, a pomegranate, i.e. fruit filled with pips or seeds.

vêtement linge, i.e. a linen garment.

cheval coursier, a 'courser,' i.e. a horse kept for racing as opposed to a draught-horse.

chant ramage, bird's song, i.e. a song among the branches.

In these and similar expressions the epithet in course of time ousted the substantive, and took its place; so that people came to say, '*un domestique*,' '*un sanglier*,' &c., just as now one speaks of '*un mort*,' '*un mortel*,' &c., for '*un homme mort*,' '*un être mortel*,' &c.

Degrees of Comparison.

§ 492. Here, as elsewhere, the analytic tendencies of the French language, as opposed to the synthetic forms of Latin, are apparent; the inflexions *-ior*, *-issimus* (*-imus*), which mark the degrees of comparison in Latin being replaced by particles in French, just as the case-endings which represent the Latin genitive, dative, and ablative are replaced by prepositions in French (see § 458.)

§ 493. The Comparative is formed both in Old and Modern French by the addition of the adverbs *plus*, *moins*, *aussi*, to the positive. It may be noted that in O.F. the form *plus . . . de* (like the Italian *più . . . di*) was used alongside of the modern form *plus . . . que*; thus it was equally correct to say

¹ The word *domestique* is of learned origin. The popular form was *domesche* from *domesticu*.

'il est plus grand *de moi*' (in Italian 'è più grande di me') or 'il est plus grand *que moi*.'

§ 494. In a few cases the synthetic form of the comparative has been preserved in French; e.g. *meilleur* (*meliórem*), *majeur* (*majórem*), *mineur* (*minórem*), &c. Owing to the fact that these words belonged to the imparisyllabic declension in Latin, and that consequently the tonic accent fell on different syllables in the nominative and accusative, they gave rise to two different forms in O. F., both of which have in a few instances been preserved, e.g. :—

moindre (*mínor*)—*mineur* (*minórem*)

maire (*máior*)—*majeur* (*majórem*)

sire (*sénior*)—*seigneur* (*seniórem*).

In other instances one only of the two forms has been preserved in Modern French, e.g. :—

pire (*péjor*)—O. F. *pejeur* (*pejórem*)

O. F. *mieldre* (*mélior*)—*meilleur* (*meliórem*).

To the above synthetic forms may be added *plusieurs* (**plusióres* for *plurióres*), and the neuters *moins* (*mínus*), *pis* (*péjus*), *plus* (*plús*), *mieux*, O. F. *miels* (*mélius*).

[*Note*.—These synthetic comparatives were more frequent in O. F.; e.g. we find: *graindre* (*grándior*)—*greigneur* (*grandiórem*); *joindre* (*júnior*)—*joigneur* (*juniórem*); and in the accusative only: *halsor* (*altiórem*), *bellesor* (*bellatiórem*), *gençor* (*gentiórem*), *forçor* (*fortiórem*, &c.)]

§ 495. The superlative is formed by the addition of *le plus* or *très* (for the superlative relative). In the latter case, *moult* (*multum*) was used in O. F. as well as *très*; e.g. *moult beau*, *moult grant*.

§ 496. A few synthetic superlatives survived in O. F., viz. *pesme* (*péssimum*) and *mesme* (**metipsimum*), whence the modern *même*; besides these we find the learned forms *hautisme*, *grandisme*, *seintisme*, from the popular Latin, *altissimum*, *grandissimum*, *sanctissimum* (for *altissimum*, *grandissimum*, *sanctissimum*).

The forms *généralissime*, *grandissime*, *sérénissime*, *illustrissime*, and the like, were introduced in the sixteenth century in imitation of the Italian *generalissimo*, &c.

[*Note*.—Six centuries before the French language came into existence the superlative in *-issimus* had already been contracted to *-ismus* in popular Latin—a proof of the growing energy and influence of the Latin accent. In the *graffiti* of Pompeii and the inscriptions of the early empire such forms as *carismo* (for *carissimo*), *dulcisma* (for *dulcissima*), *felicismus* (for *felicissimus*), *splendidismus* (for *splendidissimus*), *pientismus* (for *pientissimus*), *vicesma* (for *vicesima*), &c., are of common occurrence.]

NOUNS OF NUMBER.

Cardinals.

§ 497. *Unus* and *duo*, which were declined in Latin, passed through the same changes in Old French as did substantives and adjectives of quality. Like these, down to the end of the thirteenth century they had two cases:—

Nom. <i>uns</i> (<i>unus</i>)	<i>dui</i> (<i>duo</i>)
Acc. <i>un</i> (<i>unum</i>)	<i>dous</i> , mod. <i>deux</i> (<i>duos</i>).

Thus in O. F. they said, in the nominative: '*uns* chevaux et *dui* buefs (bœufs),' but in the accusative '*un* cheval et *dous* buefs (deux bœufs).' In the fourteenth century the nominative case disappeared and the accusative alone remained in use.

[*Note*.—In O. F. *un* was used also in the plural, with substantives which had a plural form, e. g. *unes lettres*, a letter; *unes armes*, a suit of armour, &c.]

§ 498. The numbers *trois* (*trés*), *quatre* (*quátuor*), *cinq* (*quínque*), *six* (*séx*), *sept* (*séptem*), *huit* (*ócto*), *neuf* (*nóvem*), *dix* (*décem*), do not call for any special remark here. In *onze* (*úndecim*), *douze* (*duódecim*), *treize* (*trédecim*), *quatorze* (*quatuórdecim*), *quinze* (*quíndecim*), *seize* (*sédecim*), the position of the tonic accent has brought about the

(apparent) disappearance of the word *decem* (see § 194, ii.), which originally gave their real force to these words.

§ 499. Of the words which serve to mark the tens—*vingt* (*viginti*), *trente* (*triginta*), *quarante* (*quadraginta*), *cinquante* (*quinguaginta*), *soixante* (*sexaginta*), *septante* (*septuaginta*), *octante* (*octoginta*), *nonante* (*nonaginta*), the three last have now disappeared from common use. *Uitante* or *octante* was still in use in the sixteenth century; while *septante* and *nonante*, which were commonly employed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, survive now only in provincial speech, or in special terms, such as *la Septante*, the ‘Septuagint;’ *les Septante*, the translators of the ‘Septuagint;’ *quart de nonante*, mathematical instrument, representing the quarter of a circle divided into ninety degrees.

[*Note*.—The words *vingt*, *trente*, *quarante*, &c., do not come direct from the corresponding classical Latin words, but from the popular Latin forms *vinti*, *trénta*, *quadránta*, &c., from which the medial *g* had already disappeared. In *vingt* (O. F. *vint*) the *g* is a modern addition.]

§ 500. To express the even tens above a hundred in Old French multiples of twenty were employed, as they are in certain cases in English, e. g. ‘three-score,’ ‘four-score;’ thus *six-vingts* (120), *sept-vingts* (140), *huit-vingts* (160), &c., just as, to this day, *quatre-vingts* is used to express eighty (‘four-score’). A trace of these expressions, which were employed by Bossuet and Voltaire, has survived in the term *Quinze-Vingts* (‘fifteen-score’), the name given to a hospital founded in Paris by St. Louis for the reception of 300 blind persons; and also applied as a nickname to twenty parliamentary councillors, who subscribed 15,000 livres in support of the *Fronde*.

§ 501. The Latin *ambo*, ‘both,’ gave in Old French the word *ambe*, which was used in the same sense; thus formerly the phrases ‘*ambes mains*,’ ‘*ambes parts*,’ &c., were used instead of ‘*les deux mains*,’ ‘*les deux parts*,’ &c. This word

still survives as a gaming-term, e.g. 'gagner un *ambe* à la loterie,' i.e. to get two winning numbers; and in the word *ambesas*, both aces.

[*Note*.—In O. F. a compound word *ambedui* was formed from *ambo* and *duo*.]

Ordinals.

§ 502. With the exception of *premier* (*primárium*) and *second* (*secúndum*), which come straight from the Latin, the modern French ordinals are formed by the addition of the suffix *-ième* (*-ésimum*) to the corresponding cardinal numbers, e.g. *deux-ième*, *trois-ième*, &c.

§ 503. In Old French the system adopted for the first ten ordinals differed from that now in use. Instead of being formed from the French cardinals, they were taken directly from the Latin:—

prim, *prime* (*primum*), *second* (*secúndum*), *tiers* (*tértium*), *quart* (*quártum*), *quint* (*quintum*), *sixte* (*séxtum*), *setme* (*séptimum*), *uitme* (**óctimum*), and more rarely *uitave* (*oc-távum*), *noefme* (**nóvimum*), and *none* (*nónum*), and *disme* (*decimum*).

[*Note*.—The forms *uitme* and *noefme* are due to the analogy of *setme* and *disme*.]

§ 504. Some of the above forms have an interesting history, which it is worth while to trace:—

Prim, *prime* (*primum*) has been supplanted in general use by the diminutive *premier* (*primárium*), but it still survives in the phrases '*prime-abord*,' '*prime-saut*,' '*parer en prime*,' &c.; and in the words *printemps* (*primum-tempus*), and *primevère* (*prima-*vera*).

Second (*secúndum*), which is a learned word (see § 184, ii. n.), the popular term in Old French being *altre*, *autre* (*áliterum*), has not been displaced by *deuxième*, but exists alongside of the latter. There is an arbitrary distinction between the two, *deuxième* being used in preference to *second* when the series consists of more than two; thus 'tome second' would be

used of a work in two volumes only, but 'tome deuxième' of one in three or more volumes.

Tiers (**tértium**), fem. *tierce* (**tértiam**), survives in the phrases '*tiers-état*,' '*tiers-parti*,' '*deux tiers*,' &c.; '*tierce* personne,' '*accompagner en tierce*,' '*parer en tierce*,' &c.

Quart (**quártum**) remains in such expressions as '*fièvre-quarte*,' '*trois quarts*,' '*parer en quarte*,' &c. As late as the seventeenth century, La Fontaine wrote¹ :—

'Un quart voleur survient,'

where *quart* represents the modern *quatrième*.

Quint (**quintum**) is still used with proper names, as '*Charles-Quint*,' Charles V; '*Sixte-Quint*,' Sextus V, &c. It remains also in the terms '*quinte*,' '*parer en quinte*,' &c., and in 'quintessence' (i. e. '*quinte-essence*'), a term of alchemy signifying the fifth or highest degree of essence or distillation.

Sixte (**séxtum**) survives in such phrases as '*la sixte* musicale,' '*sixte* majeure,' '*sixte* mineure,' &c.

Setme (**séptimum**), *uitme* (***oetimum**), and *uitave* (**oetá-vum**) have disappeared, being replaced by *septième* and *huitième* respectively. *Octave* is a modern importation from Italy.

Noefme (***nóvimum**) has disappeared, but *none* (**nónum**) survives as an ecclesiastical term. In the middle ages the ordinals were used to mark the hours; thus, '*il est prime*,' '*il est tierce*,' '*il est dîme*,' &c., i. e. it is the first, third, tenth hour, &c. Traces of this reckoning survive in the Roman Catholic Breviary, in which different prayers are marked for recital '*à prime*,' '*à none*,' &c., i. e. at the first or ninth hour of the day².

Dîme (**décimum**) remains in the sense of tithe, e. g. '*la dîme* (for '*la dixième* partie') des récoltes.' Formerly it was used in such phrases as '*le dîme* jour,' '*la dîme* heure,' &c., where *dixième* would now be used.

¹ *Fables*, i. 13.

² Our English *noon* comes from *none*, and meant originally the ninth hour, i. e. 3 p.m.

CHAPTER IV.

PRONOUNS.

§ 505. Before examining in detail the six classes of pronouns (viz. the Personal, Possessive, Demonstrative, Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite), it should be noted that here also, as in the cases of the substantive, article, and adjective, there was in Old French a declension in two cases, distinguishing subject from object, down to the end of the thirteenth century; and that in this instance also, as in the others, the objective case alone has survived.

Personal Pronouns.

§ 506. The Latin personal pronouns gave rise to the following forms in French:—

	1ST PERS.	2ND PERS.	3RD PERS.
Sing.	Subj. <i>je</i> (ego)	<i>tu</i> (tu)	<i>il</i> (ille), <i>elle</i> ¹ (illa)
	Obj. { (direct) <i>me</i> (me)	<i>te</i> (tē)	<i>le</i> (illum), <i>la</i> (illam)
	(indirect) <i>moi</i> (mihi)	<i>toi</i> (tibi)	<i>lui</i> (*illui)
Plur.	Subj. <i>nous</i> (nos)	<i>vous</i> (vos)	<i>ils</i> (illi), <i>elles</i> (illae)
	Obj. { (direct) <i>nous</i>	<i>vous</i>	<i>eux</i> (illos), <i>elles</i> (illas)
	(indirect) <i>nous</i>	<i>vous</i>	<i>leur</i> ² (illorum).

§ 507. Down to the end of the thirteenth century the declension in two cases was, as a rule, carefully observed:—*je* (ego), *tu* (tu), *il* (ille), were used exclusively of the subject; *me* (me), *te* (tē), *le* (illum), of the direct object; and *moi* (mihi), *toi* (tibi), *lui* (*illui), of the indirect object. In modern French, strangely enough, the form of the objective case is not infrequently used for the subject; e.g. '*moi* qui lis,' '*toi* qui chantes,' '*lui* qui vient.' In Old French the correct construction was in use:—'*je* qui lis,' '*tu* qui chantes,' '*il* qui

¹ The feminine declined like *rose* (see § 467).

² *Leur* was originally invariable; it was only when its origin was forgotten that a barbarous plural was formed by the addition of *s* (see § 516).

vient.' Though we find traces of the modern usage as early as the twelfth century¹, it was not until the fourteenth century that it became common. At the present day there is no longer a special form for the subject, since in some cases *je*, *tu*, *il* are employed, and in others *moi*, *toi*, *lui*. A relic of the ancient and correct usage survives in the legal formula, '*Je*, soussigné, déclare . . .'

§ 508. *Je* and *ego*, which seem so far apart, are really one and the same word. By the loss of the medial *g* (see § 207, ii.) *ego* became *eo*, *io* (forms which occur in the Strassburg Oaths² of 842), whence, by the consonantalisation of the initial vowel, *jō*³, weakened into *je*.

En, *Y*.

§ 509. *En* comes from Latin *inde*, which was popularly used in the sense of 'ex illo,' 'ab illo.' Thus in Plautus we find:—

'Cadus erat vini; *inde* implevi Cirneam' (*Amphitr.* i. 1).

In Low Latin this use of *inde* became common. Instances are plentiful in documents of the Merovingian period; e. g. in a formula of the seventh century we find: '*Si potis inde manducare*' (i. e. '*si tu peux en manger*'); and in a diploma of 543: '*Ut mater nostra ecclesia Viennensis inde nostra haeres fiat.*' The earliest French form of *inde* was *int*, which occurs in the Strassburg Oaths⁴. Later it became *ent*⁵, which survives in the word *souv-ent* (sub-*inde*); and finally in the twelfth century it became *en*.

§ 510. *Y*, which in O.F. was *i*, and in the Strassburg Oaths occurs as *iv*⁶, comes from Latin *ibi*, a word commonly used in popular Latin for 'illi,' 'illis'; e. g. in a cartulary of 883 we find: '*Dono ibi terram . . . tradimus ibi terram.*'

¹ E. g. in the *Livre des Rois*: '*Moi et ceste femme firent covenant.*'

² See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, i. 3, 10.

³ See *Specimens of Old French*, iv. 53; v. 10, 17, &c.

⁴ See *Specimens of Old French*, i. 10.

⁵ See *Specimens of Old French*, ii. 15; iii. 36.

⁶ '*In nulla aiudha contra Lodhuwig nun li iv er*' (i. e. non illi ibi ero).

Possessive Pronouns.

§ 511. The Old French declension of the possessive pronoun was as follows¹:—

Sing.	{ Subj. <i>mis</i> (meus).	<i>ma</i> ² (mea).
	{ Obj. <i>mon</i> (meum).	<i>ma</i> (meam).
Plur.	{ Subj. <i>mi</i> (mei).	<i>mes</i> (meae).
	{ Obj. <i>mes</i> (meos).	<i>mes</i> (meas).

In the fourteenth century this declension died away, the distinctive forms of the subjective case disappeared, and those of the objective case, viz. *mon*, *ma*, *mes*, alone remained.

§ 512. In addition to the above change, which, as we have seen, affected the whole system of the French declension at this period, another violent one was introduced in the case of the possessive pronouns. In Old French, as in Latin, there was a distinctive form for each of the genders of the pronoun, viz. *mon* (**meum**), which was exclusively employed for the masculine, and *ma* (**meam**), for the feminine. Before feminine substantives which began with a vowel, the vowel of *ma* was elided (*m'*), just as in the case of the feminine article (*la*, *l'*); thus *m'espérance* stood for *ma espérance*, just as *l'espérance* does for *la espérance*. The vowel of *ta* and *sa* was elided in the same way, e.g. *l'amie*, *s'amie*, for *ta amie*, *sa amie*. This distinction, which was clear, convenient, and etymologically correct, disappeared at the end of the fourteenth century. In the next century people no longer said *m'âme*, *l'espérance*, *s'amie*, but spoke instead, as is done at the present day, of *mon âme*, *ton espérance*, *son amie*, thus, by a gross violation of grammatical concord, employing a masculine pronoun with a feminine substantive. This solecism has survived, and with the exception of one or two expressions, such as *m'amour*³, and *m'amie* (incorrectly

¹ The possessives of the second and third persons were declined after the same model.

² The feminine declined like *rose* (see § 467).

³ Molière, for instance, uses this expression repeatedly in the *Malade*

written *ma mie*), the Old French construction has fallen into oblivion¹.

§ 513. Besides the forms *mon—ma—mes*, *ton—ta—tes*, *son—sa—ses*, for the possessive pronouns, there exist also the so-called tonic forms, *mien—mienne*, *miens—miennes*, *tien—tienne*, &c., *sien—sienne*, &c. The history of these tonic forms is as follows:—the Old French *mis* (*meus*), *tis* (**teus*), *sis* (**seus*) had two forms of the accusative, one atonic: *mon* (*meum*), *ton* (*tuum*), *son* (*suum*), and one tonic: *mien* (*méum*), *tien*² (**téum*), *sien*² (**séum*); on the model of these, tonic forms were created for the nominative singular (*miens*, *tiens*, *siens*) and for the nominative and accusative plural (*mien—miens*, &c.), which originally had no tonic forms; and then the process was carried a step further, and applied also to the feminine (in spite of the fact that the regular tonic feminine forms *moie*, *toie*, *soie*, already existed), for which the analogical forms *mienne*, *tienne*, *sienne*, &c., were created. The regular forms were maintained for a time alongside of these analogical forms, but in the end the latter prevailed and drove out the others altogether.

[*Note*.—In O. F. these tonic forms of the possessive pronouns were

Imaginaire, e. g.:—‘Il faut faire mon testament, *m’amour*, de la façon que monsieur dit’ (i. 9).

¹ Littré remarks on this point:—‘Thus it is that changes come about. Nowadays it would be just as much of a shock to our ears to hear a man say *m’espérance*, as it would have been to the ears of our forefathers in the twelfth century to hear the expression *mon espérance*. Our forefathers, however, had the logic of grammar on their side, while we have nothing but the brutal sanction of custom. The further one goes back to antiquity, the more sure and exact does the logic of grammar appear to be. This does not mean, however, that a language, which necessarily as it progresses loses somewhat of logical exactness, may not more than make up for this loss by the acquisition of other qualities. Nor does it mean that I protest against the actual usage, nor that I am one of those rigid grammarians who wish to see all solecisms swept away, and the old exactitude and regularity restored in their place. Such a proceeding would be as undesirable as it is impracticable’ (*Histoire de la langue française*, ii. 414, 415).

² These forms were originally *tuen*, *suen*, which came regularly from *tuum*, *suum*; the change to *tien*, *sien*, was due to the analogy of *mien*.

used adjectivally with the article (e.g. 'la moie mère,' 'le mien ami,' 'la toie force,' 'le sien escu,' &c.)—a usage which has survived in a few instances, such as 'un mien ami,' 'un sien cousin,' 'une sienne tante,' &c.]

§ 514. The possessives of the three persons in the plural are respectively *notre* (nóstrum), *votre* (*vóstrum for ves-trum), and *leur* (illórum).

§ 515. *Notre*, *votre* (which are written with the circumflex *nôtre*, *vôtre*, when used absolutely with the article) make the plural *nos*, *vos*; these forms, which are merely abbreviations of *notres*, *votres*, came into existence at an early date, instances of their use being frequent already in the *Chanson de Roland*¹ (eleventh century). The unshortened forms are still employed in the plural when the pronouns are used absolutely, e.g. *les nôtres*, *les vôtres*².

§ 516. *Leur*, which is strictly speaking a genitive plural (illórum), was originally invariable; thus in the *Chanson de Roland* we find:—

'Plurent *lur* filz, *lur* freres, *lur* nevulz,
E *lur* amis e *lur* liges seignurs³.'

As early as the thirteenth century, when the origin of the word was forgotten, *leur* was treated as an adjective as regards *number*, a plural being formed by the addition of *s*, e.g. '*leur* ami,' '*leurs* amis'; as regards *gender* it remained invariable, e.g. '*leurs* choses,' not '*leures* choses.'

Demonstrative Pronouns.

§ 517. The French demonstrative pronouns are three in number, viz. *cet* (*ce*), *celui*, and the neuter *ce*. Of these, *celui* and *ce* (neuter) are also used in combination with the adverbs *ci* and *là*.

¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, v. 88, 146, 221.

² In O. F. the shortened forms were used in this case too; thus, we find *les nos* in the *Chanson de Roland*. (See *Specimens of Old French*, v. 221.)

³ See *Specimens of Old French*, v. 24, 25.

§ 518. *Cet (ce)* comes from O. F. *icest*, the oblique form of *icist* (*ecciste*, i. e. *ecce-iste*), the declension of which was as follows, the modern forms being placed in brackets :—

	MASC.	FEM.
Sing.	{ Subj. <i>icist, cist</i> (<i>ecciste</i>). { Obj. { (direct) <i>icest, cest</i> (<i>cet, ce</i>) (<i>eccistum</i>). (indirect) <i>icestui, cestui</i> ¹ (<i>eccistui</i>).	{ <i>iceste, ceste</i> (<i>cette</i>) { (<i>eccistam</i>). { <i>icestei, cestei</i> (<i>eccistei</i>).
Plur.	{ Subj. <i>icist, cist</i> (<i>eccisti</i>). { Obj. { <i>icez, cez</i> (<i>ces</i>) (<i>eccistos</i>).	{ <i>icestes, cestes, cez</i> (<i>ces</i>) { (<i>eccistas</i>).

[*Note*.—The weakening of *cet* to *ce* before a consonant dates back as early as the twelfth century; the change being doubtless partly due to the influence of the neuter pronoun *ce* (*ecce-hôo*).]

§ 519. *Celui* comes from O. F. *icelui*, one of the oblique forms of *icil* (*eccille*, i. e. *ecce-ille*), the declension of which was as follows :—

	MASC.	FEM.
Sing.	{ Subj. <i>icil, cil</i> (<i>eccille</i>). { Obj. { (direct) <i>icel, cel</i> (<i>eccillum</i>). (indirect) <i>icelui, (celui)</i> (<i>eccillui</i>).	{ <i>icele</i> ² , <i>cele</i> (<i>celle</i>) { (<i>eccillam</i>). { <i>icelei, celei</i> (<i>eccillei</i>).
Plur.	{ Subj. <i>icil, cil</i> (<i>eccilli</i>). { Obj. { <i>icels, cels</i> (<i>ceux</i>) (<i>eccillos</i>).	{ <i>iceles, celes</i> (<i>celles</i>) { (<i>eccillas</i>).

[*Note*.—The O. F. *icist*, *icil*, answered respectively to the Latin *hic*, this one here, and *ille*, that one there; their place, so far as sense is concerned, has been taken by the compounds *celui-ci*, this

¹ *Cestui*, in its modern form *cettui*, was in use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; e. g. La Fontaine writes: '*Cettui* Richard était juge en Pise'; and Voltaire: '*Cettui* pays n'est pays de Cogne.'

² *Icele* is still employed in legal phraseology; it was used by Racine: '*De ma cause et des faits renfermés en icelle*' (*Plaideurs*, iii. 3).

here, and *celui-là*, that yonder, which came into use in the fifteenth century.]

§ 520. *Ce* (neuter)—not to be confounded with *ce* the weakened form of *cet* (see § 518)—comes from O. F. *iço, ço, (eccc-hóc)*, which was weakened to *ce*, just as *jo* (*ego*) was to *jé*.

[*Note*.—In combination with the adverbs *ci* and *là*, *ce* forms the compounds *ceci*, to indicate the nearer object, and *cela*, to indicate the remoter. *Cela* in the seventeenth century was popularly contracted into *ça* (as in the well-known phrase ‘*ça ira*’); this must be distinguished from the adverb *çà*, which comes from *eccc-hac*.]

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

§ 521. The relative pronouns, with which the interrogative pronouns are included, are five in number, viz. *qui, quoi, que, quel, dont*; to which must be added the compound *lequel*.

§ 522. *Qui* (*qui*) in Old French was declined as follows (such modern forms as differ from the old ones are placed in brackets):—

Subj. *ki* (*qui*) (*qui*).

Obj. { (direct) *que* (*quem*), tonic *cui* (*qui*) (*cui*).
(indirect) *cui* (*qui*) (*cui*).

The above declension served for both numbers, and for feminine as well as masculine. The form *cui*, which was used both of the direct and indirect object in O. F. (e.g. ‘*cui* Dieu absolve,’ i. e. ‘*que* Dieu absolve,’ and ‘*cui* fille,’ i. e. ‘*la* fille *de qui*’) has been replaced in modern French by *qui*, and has thus become confounded with *qui*, the form of the subject. It is this *qui* which is now used after prepositions (‘à *qui*,’ ‘pour *qui*,’ ‘de *qui*,’ &c.), or as the accusative after verbs (‘prenez *qui* vous voudrez,’ ‘*qui* demandez vous?’).

§ 523. The neuter pronouns *quoi* and *que* both come from Lat. *quid*, the former being the tonic (O. F. *queid, quei*), the latter the atonic form.

§ 524. *Quel* comes from Lat. *qualem*. Preceded by the definite article it forms the pronoun *lequel*, fem. *laquelle*, which is declined with the article:—*auquel, duquel, lesquels, &c.* *Lequel* was originally employed as interrogative; from the thirteenth century on it was also used as relative, a usage which became very frequent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Malherbe and Vaugelas in the seventeenth century tried their best to abolish the word; but though their efforts were unsuccessful, its usage became, and has remained, less frequent than it had been previously.

§ 525. *Dont*, which comes from Lat. *de-unde*, was originally an adverb of place, denoting the point from which, whence; e. g. 'il me demanda *dont* je venais.' In this sense it was still in use down to the end of the eighteenth century; thus:—

- 'Le mont Aventin
Dont il l'aurait vu faire une horrible descente.'
 (Corneille, *Nic.* v. 2.)
 'Rentre dans le néant *dont* je t'ai fait sortir.'
 (Racine, *Bajaz.* ii. 1.)
 'Ma vie est dans les camps *dont* vous m'avez tiré.'
 (Voltaire, *Fanat.* ii. 1.)

Indefinite Pronouns.

§ 526. *Aucun*, O. F. *alquns*, is compounded of *alque* (*aliquem*) and *un* (*unum*), just as *quelqu'un* is of *quelque* and *un*. The history and etymology of *aucun* show that the word is essentially positive in sense:—

- 'Avez-vous entendu *aucun* discours qui vous fit croire?'
 'Allez au bord de la mer attendre les vaisseaux, et si vous en voyez *aucuns*, revenez me le dire.'
 'Phèdre était si succinct qu'*aucuns* l'en ont blâmé.'
 (La Fontaine, *Fables*, vi. 1.)

The frequent use of *aucun* with a negative resulted in the transference of a negative sense to the pronoun itself, which,

from being a synonym of *quelqu'un*, has thus become a synonym of *nul*:—

‘Deux jours s'étaient passés sans qu'*aucun* vînt au puits.’

(La Fontaine, *Fables*, xi. 6.)

§ 527. *Autre*, O. F. *altre*, comes from Lat. *alterum*. *Autrui* is the objective (indirect) form of *autre*, from Lat. **alterui*, just as *celui* is of *cil* (§ 519) and *cettui* of *cet* (§ 518, n. 1); it is the equivalent in sense of *de l'autre*. In O. F. it was used without a preposition, e. g. ‘*l'autrui* femme’ (i. e. ‘la femme d'un autre’); now it is generally employed with a preposition: ‘la femme *d'autrui*.’ In the legal phrase *l'autrui*, the article belongs not to *autrui*, but to *bien* or *chose* understood: ‘le bien *autrui*,’ i. e. ‘le bien d'un autre.’

§ 528. *Chacun*, O. F. *chascun*, comes from Lat. **cascunum* (an alteration of **quisconum*, formed from *quisque* and *unum*). The word *chaque* does not come direct from *quisque*, but was derived from *chacun*, which in the thirteenth century began to be written *chasqu'un*.

§ 529. *Maint*, from Celtic **manti*, which is variable both in gender and number, was formerly frequently used in the sense of *beaucoup*:—

‘*Maint* voisin charitable entretient ses ennuis.’

(La Fontaine, *Filles de Min*.)

Vaugelas and Ménage condemned the use of *maint*, but it was defended by La Bruyère. It is now hardly used, save in the phrase *maintes fois*.

§ 530. *Même*, from Lat. **metípsimum*, affords a curious example of the contraction undergone by Latin in its passage into French. In the sixteenth century it was written *mesme*, in the thirteenth *meesme*, *meïsme*, and originally *medisme*. Now *medisme*, the form of which is preserved in the Italian *medesimo*, comes from the common Latin **metípsimus*, which is used by Petronius; this we know to be a contraction of the superlative *metipsissimus*, which occurs in classical Latin

under the form of *ipsissimusmet*, meaning 'altogether the same.' The contraction of *-issimus* into *-ismus*, whence O. F. *-isme*, has already been noticed (§ 496, n.).

§ 531. *Nul*, from Lat. *nūllum*, had in O. F. an objective (indirect) form *nului*, corresponding to *celui*, *cettui*, *autrui*, from *cil*, *cet*, *autre* (see § 527). *Nul* differs from *aucun* in that it is intrinsically negative, whereas *aucun* is only negative by usage (see § 526).

§ 532. *On*, in O. F. *hom*, *om*, is simply *hōmo*, and means properly 'a man;' it was in fact originally merely the nominative form of O. F. *ome*, mod. *homme*, from *hōminem* (see § 473, i.). Being, properly speaking, a substantive, *on* is employed quite naturally with the article (*l'on*). The distinction between *on* and *l'on* is a matter of usage, depending mainly on euphony; formerly this appears to have been disregarded, since we not infrequently find such sentences as 'La parole donnée, il faut que *l'on* la tienne' (Corneille), which would not stand nowadays.

§ 533. *Plusieurs*, O. F. *plusor*, from **plusiōres* for *pluriōres*, is strictly speaking a comparative, meaning 'a larger number,' and originally was so used, the superlative being formed by the addition of the definite article, *li plusor*, 'the greatest number,' i. e. 'very many.'

§ 534. *Quant*, from *quantus*, in O. F. was an adjective, variable in gender, number, and case. It remained in common use down to the sixteenth century; it now survives only in the phrase: 'toutes et *quantes* fois.'

§ 535. *Quelque* is a compound, formed of the pronoun *quel* and the conjunction *que*. Originally the two component words were separable; in O. F. the clumsy expression *quel-que . . . que* did not exist; such a phrase as '*quelque* part *qu'il* aille,' in O. F. would have been '*quel* part *qu'il* alt;,' the modern usage is simply a barbarous pleonasm.

§ 536. *Quelconque*, from *qualiscumque*, is invariable as far as gender is concerned ('une récompense *quelconque*'), but admits of a plural ('des prétextes *quelconques*'); it is always placed after the substantive. At one time, when the origin of the word was not rightly understood, *quelconque* was decomposed into *quel-que-onques* (i.e. 'quel que jamais'), of which three words it was supposed to be compounded, and the *quel* was made variable; thus in a text of the twelfth century we find:—

'Tutes genz *quelesquunques* tu fesis vendrunt, et aorerunt devant tei,' i.e. 'all nations whomsoever thou hast made shall come and worship before thee.' (*Psalms* lxxxvi. 9.)

§ 537. *Quiconque*, from *quicumque*, is invariable, and is used without antecedent and in the singular only:—

'*Quiconque* est riche est tout; sans sagesse il est sage.'
(Boileau, *Sat.* viii.)

§ 538. *Tel*, from *tálem*, is used as an indefinite pronoun in the sense of 'such an one':—

'*Tel* qui rit vendredi, dimanche pleurera.'
(Racine, *Plaideurs*, i. 1.)

§ 539. *Tout*, O. F. *tot*, from **tottum* (for *totum*), is used in the sense of Lat. *omnis*, 'all':—

'Ils ne mouroient pas *tous*, mais *tous* étoient frappés.'
(La Fontaine, *Fables*, vii. 1.)

In O. F., when used as an adjective, *tout* was not accompanied by the article as it mostly is at the present day; thus for *tous les hommes*, *tous les jours*, they used to say *tous hommes*, *tous jours*. The words *toujours* (i.e. 'tous les jours'), and *la Toussaint* (i.e. 'la fête de tous les Saints') are survivals of this usage. The use of the article is still optional in certain cases; thus it is equally correct to say *tous deux*, *tous trois*, or *tous les deux*, *tous les trois*.

§ 540. *Un* (*únium*), when used as indefinite pronoun, has the sense of Lat. *quidam*, 'a certain man;' instances of the

use of *unus* in this sense occur even in classical Latin ; e. g. Plautus writes :—

‘ *Una* aderit mulier lepida.’

‘ *Unum* vidi mortuum efferri.’

‘ Forte *unam* adspicio adolescentulam.’

[*Note*.—For *personne* and *rien* see below, § 653, v., vi.]

PART II.

CONJUGATION OF VERBS.

Introductory Remarks.

§ 541. ‘ The Romance languages have perhaps handled conjugation more freely, and have more completely remodelled it, than any other part of grammar. Voices have been lost, moods and tenses have disappeared, and others, which the mother tongue had no knowledge of, have been created in their room ; the conjugations have been thrown together and classified again upon new principles ; in fact, the old fabric has been completely pulled down and a new structure built up out of its *débris*.’

The changes of the Latin conjugation, in voice, mood, tense, and person, will be studied in detail in subsequent chapters ; at present we will simply take a summary view of all these transformations.

Voice.

§ 542. To say nothing of the creation of auxiliary verbs, the most serious change has been the loss of the passive voice. The Latin passive has been suppressed, and in its room we have in French a combination of the verb *être* with the past

¹ G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 63.

participle. The transformation however had already taken place in the common Latin ; MSS. of the sixth century are full of such expressions as the following :—

‘Ut ibi luminaria debeant *esse procurata*’ (for *procurari*).

‘Hoc volo *esse donatum*’ (for *donari*).

‘Quod ei nostra largitate *est concessum*’ (for *conceditur*).

These examples are taken at random from Merovingian chartularies and diplomas.

§ 543. The deponent verbs on passing into French assumed an active form ; or rather, to speak more correctly, they had already lost the deponent form in common Latin, and indeed even in the Latin comic writers, who, as is well known, used many of the forms current in the language of the people. In Plautus we find, for example, *arbitrare*, *moderare*, *munerare*, *partire*, *venerare*, &c., in place of *arbitrari*, *moderari*, *munerari*, *partiri*, *venerari*, &c. And in the fragments of the Atellan farces we have *complectite*, *frustrarent*, *irascere* (for *irasci*), *mirabis*, *ominas*, &c.

This is the reason why we get such forms as *suivent*, *naisent*, &c., which come from *séquunt*, *nascunt*, &c., instead of forms derived from *sequúntur*, *nascúntur*, &c.

Moods.

§ 544. The Latin moods—the indicative, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive, and participle—have been preserved in French ; besides which a new mood, the conditional, has been created.

Tenses.

§ 545. Of the Latin tenses the following have been preserved in French :—

- i. In the indicative, the present (*cánte* : je *chante*), the imperfect (*cantábam* : je *chantais*), and the perfect (*cantávi* : je *chantai*), this last being restricted in French to the

sense of the past definite (as distinguished from that of the past indefinite and the past anterior which it possessed concurrently in Latin).

- ii. In the imperative, the present (**cánta** : *chante*).
- iii. In the subjunctive, the present (**cántem** : que je *chante*), the pluperfect (**cantássem** : que je *chantasse*), the latter being used as imperfect.
- iv. In the infinitive, the present (**cántare** : *chanter*); and further, the present participle (**cántantem** : *chantant*), the gerundive (**cántando** : en *chantant*), and the past participle (**cantátum** : *chanté*).

§ 546. The following have totally disappeared, viz. the future infinitive present (**cantaturum esse**) and past (**cantaturum fuisse**); the future participle (**cantaturus**); and the supine (**cantatum**).

§ 547. The following have been replaced by other forms in French, viz. the imperfect subjunctive (**cantarem**), which has been replaced by the pluperfect of the same mood (see § 545, iii.); the future indicative (**cantabo**), for which has been substituted a periphrasis formed of the infinitive with the auxiliary *avoir* (**cantare-hábeo** : je *chanter-ai*); together with the pluperfect and future perfect indicative, the perfect and pluperfect subjunctive, and the perfect infinitive, which have been replaced by periphrases formed of the past participle with the simple tenses of the auxiliary *avoir*, and in some cases of the auxiliary *être*; by means of these combinations also a new past indefinite (*j'ai chante*), and a new past anterior (*j'eus chanté*) have been formed (see § 545, i.).

§ 548. Further, two new tenses have been created by the help of the periphrasis of the auxiliary, with the infinitive in the one case, and with the past participle in the other, viz. the conditional present (*je chanter-ais*), and the conditional past (*j'aur-ais chanté*).

Formation of the Future in French.

§ 549. The future in French, as we have seen (§ 547), is formed by the help of the infinitive and the auxiliary *avoir* (*je chanter-ai, tu chanter-as, il chanter-a, nous chanter-ons, vous chanter-ez, ils chanter-ont*). Now we know that the Latins often expressed the desire of doing something in the future by the use of *habeo* joined with the infinitive of the verb. Even in Cicero we find: '*habeo dicere*'—'*ad familiares habeo polliceri*'—'*habeo convenire*'—'*habeo ad te scribere*.' In St. Augustine we find '*venire habet*,' meaning 'he has to come,' i. e. 'he will come.' This periphrasis was in use among writers under the Empire, side by side with the ordinary form of the future (*cantabo, &c.*), and ended by supplanting it. From the sixth century downwards, such forms as *partire habeo, amare habeo, venire habet* became predominant, while the regular futures *partiar, amabo, veniet*, apparently fell into oblivion.

§ 550. The Romance (or neo-Latin) languages, on becoming detached from the Latin, carried with them this new form of the future tense; and the inverted order of the words being preserved, *amare-habeo* became in French *aimer-ai*¹. At first the two elements (the infinitive and the auxiliary verb) were separable; thus in Old Spanish we find *decir te han, haber les hemos*, for *te decir-an, les habr-emos, &c.*, and in Portuguese at the present day, such expressions as *dir-me-ha, far-me-ha*, for *me dirá, me fará, &c.*, are common². In French the two elements were welded together at an early date, and soon became not only inseparable, but almost indistinguishable.

[*Note.*—Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye in the last century was the first to detect and remark upon this formation of the future tense. His

¹ In Italian, in which *habeo* = *ho*, the future *cantare-habeo* became *canter-ò*; in Spanish, *habeo* = *he*, future *cantar-é*; in Portuguese, *habeo* = *hei*, future *cantar-ei*.

² See Diez, *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, ii. pp. 155, 156, 171.

discovery was confirmed by the subsequent researches of Raynouard and Diez.]

The Conditional.

§ 551. The French conjugation has been enriched, as was noted above (§ 548), by the addition of the conditional, a mood unknown to the Latin conjugation. While the Latin confounds the two meanings represented by *j'aimasse* and *j'aimerais* under the one form *amarem*, the French discriminates between the two, and gives to each a distinct form. What was the process whereby this end was attained? The need of some form was felt by which to indicate the future regarded from the point of view of the past, just as the future tense indicates the future regarded from the point of view of the present. It was with the object of expressing this shade of meaning that the French conditional mood was created; the means selected for the purpose were the infinitive (*chanter*) to indicate the future, and a termination to indicate the past (*-ais, -ais, -ait, -ions, -iez, -aient*). The French conditional, in fine, was constructed on the lines of the future; the one being formed of the infinitive and the present of *avoir* (e.g. *chanter-ai*), the other, of the infinitive and the imperfect of *avoir* (e.g. *chanter-ais*).

[*Note*.—In the combination of the infinitive with the present and imperfect of *avoir* to form the future and conditional it will be observed that the syllable *-av-* (Lat. *-hab-*) disappears when not accented. Thus *partirons, partirez, partirais*, &c., are for *partiravons* (*partire-habémus*), *partiravez* (*partire-habétis*), *partiravais* (*partire-habébam*), &c.; in same way *aurons, aurez, aurais*, &c., are for *auravons* (*habere-habémus*), *auravez* (*habere-habétis*), *auravais* (*habere-habébam*), &c.]

Persons.

§ 552. Certain peculiarities in the formation of the persons in French are worthy of note :—

- i. The first person singular never had an *s* in Latin : *canto, credo, video, teneo*; consequently in Old French

we find the forms *je croi, je voi, je tien*. At an early date, however, there was a tendency (except in the cases of verbs of the first conjugation, and of *ai* from *avoir*) to add *s* to the first person singular in French, due to the analogy of verbs in which this *s* was already present in the radical, such as *conois* (*cognósko*), *crois* (*crésko*), *fais* (*fácio*), &c. In the sixteenth century this tendency became general, and an *s* was added systematically in every instance ; thus we find *je crois, je vois, je tiens, je viens, je partis, je finis, je reçus*, &c. But in the sixteenth century, and even in the seventeenth, and yet later, the older and correct forms were still used in poetry. Thus Corneille, Molière, La Fontaine, and Racine use the forms *je croi, je voi, je tien*, &c. ; and Voltaire writes in the eighteenth century :—

‘ La mort a respecté ces jours que je te *doi*.’

(*Alzire*, ii. 2.)

Racine even uses both the old and modern forms in one and the same line :—

‘ Je *croi* tout, je vous *crois* invincible.’

(*Alexandre*, iv. 2.)

In the same way the final *e* (so-called) mute, which existed as supporting vowel (*voyelle d'appui*, see § 23, iii.) in first persons singular such as *entre* (*éntro*), *tremble* (*trémulo*), was applied by analogy to others where it had no *raison d'être* ; thus in O. F. we find the regular forms *je chant* (*canto*), *que je chant* (*cantem*), &c., which now have become *je chante, que je chante*.

- ii. In French as in Latin (with one exception) the letter *s* is the characteristic termination of the second person singular : *chantes* (*cantas*), *chantais* (*cantabas*), *vois* (*vides*), *voyais* (*videbas*), &c. There was no final *s* in Latin in the second singular of the perfect, which ended in *-sti* ; *cantásti, finísti, vidísti*, &c., therefore,

ought to have given *chantast, finist, veïst, &c.*, in French, but the final *t* disappeared, leaving *chantas, finis, vis, &c.*, which thus became assimilated to the other second persons singular.

- iii. Final *t* is the characteristic of the third person singular in Latin: *habet, cantat, videt, legit, audit*; and in O. F. this letter was preserved: *il at, il chantet, il voit, il lit, il ouït, &c.* In modern French it has disappeared in some cases (e. g. *il a, il chante, qu'il puisse, il dira, &c.*), in others it has been retained (e. g. *il voit, il lit, il finit, il fait, il chantait, &c.*).

[*Note*.—When the third person singular ends in a vowel (as *il aime, il a, il dira*) a so-called euphonic *t* is inserted before *il, elle, or on* (as *aime-t-il, a-t-elle, dira-t-on*). This *t* was formerly supposed to be a relic of the old third person singular in *t* (*chantet, at, &c.*); but this hypothesis has been proved to be altogether mistaken, since the 'euphonic' *t* did not come into use until the sixteenth century, while the final *t* of words like *chantet*, disappeared as early as the end of the eleventh century. The real explanation is that this *t* is due to the analogy of the numerous forms which naturally ended in *t*, such as *il dit, dit-il; il reçoit, reçoit-il; il chantait, chantait-il; &c.*]

- iv. The first person plural in French, in every case except in the perfect (*-âmes, -îmes, -ûmes*), ends in *-ons*. In O. F. there were three forms, viz. *-omes, -oms (-ons), -om (-on)*, of which *-oms* was the primitive form. This termination *-oms* does not represent any of the corresponding forms of the Latin verb, since *-âmus* of the first conjugation would have become *-ains* in French, while *-êmus* and *-îmus* of the second and third would have become *-eins*, and *-îmus* of the fourth would have become *-ins*. The origin of this termination *-oms* is to be found in the first person plural of the present indicative of the verb *esse*, viz. *sumus*, which became *soms* in French. This word *soms* (*sons*) gave rise to another form *somes*, and these two were chosen as the models of the first person plural of all the other verbs; thus in O. F. we

find side by side *chantomes* and *chantons*, *chantiomes* and *chantions*, *chanteromes* and *chanterons*, &c., corresponding exactly to the two forms *somes* and *sons*. In the fifteenth century the form in *-omes* gave place to that in *-ons*, and completely disappeared, except in the single instance of the present indicative of *être*, viz. *sommes*.

- v. Except in the perfect (*-istis*) the second person plural in Latin ended in *-âtis*, *-étis*, *-îtis*, or *-îtis*; these terminations (with the exception of the last, which, being unaccented, disappeared, e. g. *fác(i)tis*: *faites*, *díc(i)tis*: *dites*) became *-ez* or *-eiz* (later *-oiz*) in French, of which the former was eventually adopted for the second person plural of all verbs and of every tense (with the exception of the perfect, which followed the Latin perfect, e. g. *cantástis*: *chantâtes*; *finístis*: *finîtes*, &c.).
- vi. The third person plural in Latin ended in *-ant* (*cánt-ant*, *cantáb-ant*, &c.), *-ent* (*déb-ent*, *cánt-ent*, *cantáss-ent*, &c.), or *-unt* (*lég-unt*, *cantár-unt*, *súnt*, &c.), which are always atonic except in the case of a few monosyllabic forms (e. g. *stánt*, *dént*, *súnt*, &c.). All these three terminations were reduced alike in French to the single atonic form *-ent* (*chant-ent*, *chantai-ent*, *chantèr-ent*, *chantass-ent*, *doiv-ent*, *lis-ent*, with four exceptions, viz. *habent*: *ont*; *sunt*: *sont*; *fac(i)unt*: *font*; *va(d)unt*: *vont*). At an early date the pronunciation of this termination *-ent* was reduced to *-et*; and in the sixteenth century it became mute altogether, as it now is, except in *liaison*.

The Present Participle and the Gerundive.

§ 553. The present participle and gerundive in Latin ended in *-antem*, *-ando* for the first conjugation (*cant-antem*, *cant-ando*), in *-entem*, *-endo* for the second and third (*deb-entem*, *deb-endo*; *leg-entem*, *leg-endo*), and in *-ientem*, *-iendo* for

the fourth (*audi-entem*, *audi-endo*). These three terminations, which in the other Romance languages were reduced to two (*-ante*, *-ando*; *-ente*, *-endo*), in French were reduced to a single type, viz. *-ante*, *-ando*, whence the termination *-ant* of the present participle and gerundive in all the conjugations (*chantant*, *en chantant*; *devant*; *lisant*; &c.).

Strong and Weak Verbs.

Before beginning the study of the verbal inflexions in French it is necessary to say a few words as to the part played by the Latin accent in the French conjugations.

§ 554. If regarded from the point of view of the tonic accent, all Latin verbs may be divided into two classes, *strong* and *weak*, according as the accent is on the radical (*créscère*, *dicère*), or on the termination (*cantáre*, *debére*, *audíre*); thus *créscère* (*croître*), *dicítis* (*dites*), *ténui* (*tins*) are *strong* forms, being accented on the radical; while *dormíre* (*dormir*), *debétis* (*devez*), *cantávi* (*chantai*), are *weak*, being accented on the termination.

§ 555. This division into strong and weak verbs, or rather into strong and weak forms—for properly speaking there are no verbs which are completely strong (i. e. which have the radical accented throughout in all tenses and persons)—is a fact of the first importance in connexion with the study of the French conjugations, as will be seen later.

§ 556. The true natural classification of the French verbs would consist in dividing them into strong and weak; that is to say, they should be classified according to their *form*—though even this would not be a perfect classification, since, as was stated above (§ 555), there are no verbs which are strong throughout. However, in order not to confuse the student, the artificial classification of verbs according to their *functions* will be adopted, by which they are divided into *Auxiliary*, *Active*, *Passive*, *Impersonal*, &c.

CHAPTER I.

AUXILIARY VERBS.

§ 557. The most important difference between the Latin and French conjugations consists in the fact that while the passive, and several of the past tenses of the active, are expressed in Latin by means of special terminations (**am-or**, **am-averam**), in French they are expressed by a periphrasis of the past participle with *avoir* for the active (*j'avais aimé*), with *être* for the passive (*je suis aimé*).

§ 558. This introduction of the use of auxiliary verbs in conjugation, which appears at first sight foreign to the genius of the Latin language, was by no means an isolated fact, nor an unprecedented innovation. The germ of the practice already existed in classical Latin; Cicero, for instance, writes:—

- 'De Caesare satis *dictum habeo*' (for *dixi*);
- '*Habebas scriptum* . . . nomen' (for *scripseras*);
- '*Quae habes instituta* perpolies' (for *instituiti*).

Again, Caesar writes:—

- 'Vectigalia parvo pretio *redempta habet*' (for *redemit*);
- 'Copias quas *habebat paratas*' (for *paraverat*);

and so on.

Thus we find, even in the Augustan age, the first appearance of the analytic forms (such as *dictum habeo*, for the synthetic *dixi*; *habebas scriptum*, for *scripseras*, &c.), which were destined eventually to become a characteristic feature both in the popular Latin, and in the Romance languages descended from it; for the analytic tendencies of the language rapidly developed, as is evident from the plentiful examples of analytic forms furnished by Latin texts from the sixth century onward.

§ 559. A similar process took place with regard to the

inflexions of the passive voice, which in popular Latin were replaced by periphrases of the past participle and the verb *esse* (e. g. *sum amatus* instead of *amor*). The new forms are to be met with constantly in the collections of Merovingian documents :—

‘*Omnia quae ibi sunt aspecta*’ (for *aspectantur*).

‘*Sicut a nobis praesente tempore est possessum*’ (for *possidetur*).

‘*Hoc volo esse donatum*’ (for *donari*).

‘*Quod ei nostra largitate est concessum*’ (for *conceditur*).

§ 560. Thus, just as in the declensions the new languages abandoned the case-terminations and substituted prepositions in their room (see § 458), so in the conjugations they abandoned the synthetic forms of the compound tenses, and replaced them by means of periphrases. Both these processes were the natural result of the necessity which forced the Latin language to pass from the synthetic to the analytic state.

Être.

§ 561. The Latin verb *esse* was defective and borrowed six tenses from *fore* and the disused **fuere*, viz. *forem*, and *fui*, *fueram*, *fuero*, *fuerim*, *fuissem*. The conjugation of the French verb *être* is derived from several sources. From **fuere* come the preterite *fus* (*fui*) and the imperfect subjunctive *fusse* (*fuissem*); from *stare* ‘to stand,’ come the present participle *étant* (*stántem*), the past participle *été* (*státum*), and the gerundive *étant* (*stándo*); from **essere* (for *esse*) come the infinitive *être*, O. F. *estre*, whence was formed the imperfect *étais*, O. F. *estoie*; while from the corresponding tenses of *esse* come the present indicative, present subjunctive, and imperative; the origin of the future and conditional (*serai*, *serais*) is as yet unexplained.

§ 562. The infinitive *être* comes from **essere*, the popular form of *esse*, which is common in late inscriptions, and in documents of the Carolingian period. Thus the following

epitaph was found in a church of the seventh century in Rome :—

‘Cod estis fui et cod sum *essere* abetis¹’

Documentary examples are :—‘quod *essere* debuissent’ (dated 820) ; ‘*essere* de beneficio’ (821) ; ‘quod de ista ecclesia Vulfaldo episcopus *essere* debuisset’ (836) ; ‘quom ingenuus *adessere*’ (818).

[*Note*.—Besides **essere* for *esse*, we find in texts of the sixth century such forms as *potère* (*pouvoir*) for *posse*, *volère* (*vouloir*) for *velle*, &c. It was formerly supposed that *être* came from *stäre* ; this word gave *ester* (see § 607), which still survives in the phrase ‘*ester* en justice ;’ and in the compounds *rester* (*re-stäre*), *arrêter*, O. F. *arrestler* (*ad-re-stäre*).]

§ 563. The participles *étant*, *été*, and the gerundive (*en*) *étant*, come respectively from *stántem*, *státum*, and *stándo*, parts of *stare* (see § 561).

§ 564. The present indicative comes from the corresponding Latin tense :—

suis, O. F. *sui* (*sum*), *es* (*es*), *est* (*est*), *sommes*, O. F. *soms*, *somes* (*súmus*), *êtes*, O. F. *estes* (*éstis*), *sont* (*sunt*).

The final *s* in *suis*, which dates from the twelfth century, is due to the analogy of *puis*. Phonetically *es* from *es* should have been *ies* (see § 49) ; its actual form is probably due to the influence of *est*. Similarly *éstis* ought to have given *ez* ; the dissyllabic *êtes* is doubtless due to the influence of *somes*. As to *sommes*, see § 552, iv.

§ 565. The imperfect indicative *étais*, O. F. *estoit*, is formed from the infinitive *être*, O. F. *estre*, just as *mettais*, O. F. *metoit*, is formed from *mettre*. In O. F. an imperfect *iere*, *ieres*, *ieret*, *erions*, *eriez*, *ierent*—formed direct from *eram*, *eras*, *erat*, *erāmus*, *erātis*, *erant*—was in use, but it gradually gave way

¹ ‘Quod estis, fui : et quod sum, esse habetis’ (i. e. *eritis*).

to the infinitival form *estoie*, and in the fourteenth century almost totally disappeared.

§ 566. The preterite or past definite comes from the corresponding Latin tense :—

fus, O. F. *fui*, *fu* (*fûi*), *fus* (*fuîsti*), *fut* (*fûit*), *fûmes*, O. F. *fumes*, *fusmes* (*fûimus*), *futes*, O. F. *fustes* (*fuîstis*), *furent* (*fûerunt* for *fuêrunt*).

The circumflex in *fûmes* represents the loss of *s* in the old form *fusmes*, in which its presence is due to the analogy of *fustes*, *fûtes*; in the latter case the *s* is justified by the etymology (*fuîstis*).

§ 567. The forms of the modern future and conditional *serai* and *serais*, which occur as early as the twelfth century¹, have not yet been satisfactorily accounted for. In O. F. two forms of the future were in use, one derived direct from the Latin, viz. :—

ier (*éero*), *iers* (*éris*), *iert* (*érit*), *ermes* (*érimus*), *ertes* (*éritis*), *ierent* (*érrunt*);

the other formed from the popular Latin **esserábeo* (i.e. **essere-hábeo*), viz. *estrai*, *estras*, &c.; there was also a conditional *estroie* corresponding to the latter form. (See §§ 548, 551.)

§ 568. The present subjunctive comes from the popular form of the corresponding Latin tense :—

sois, O. F. *soie* (**siám* for *sim*), *sois*, O. F. *soies* (**siás* for *sis*), *soit* (**siat* for *sit*), *soyons*, O. F. *seions* (**siámus* for *simus*), *soyez*, O. F. *seiez* (*siátis* for *sitis*), *soient* (**siánt* for *sint*).

§ 569. The imperfect subjunctive is derived from the Latin pluperfect (see § 545, iii.) :—

fusse (*fuisse*), *fusses* (*fuisse*), *fût*, O. F. *fuist*, *fust* (*fuisse*), *fussions* (*fuisse*), *fussiez* (*fuisse*), *fussent* (*fuisse*).

¹ The future *serai* occurs even earlier, e.g. in the *Chanson de Roland*: 'Cum jo serai a Loün en ma chambre.' See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, v. 184; also vii. 70; x. 5, 21, 25, 27, 48; xvi. 35; &c.

§ 570. The imperative is composed entirely of forms borrowed from the present subjunctive:—*sois, soit, soyons, soyez, soient* (see § 568).

[*Note*.—The verb *être*, by a curious anomaly, is conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir*, e. g. *j'ai été, j'avais été*; in Italian the construction is with *essere*, e. g. *io sono stato, 'je suis été.'*]

Avoir.

§ 571. The verb *avoir* comes from the Latin *habere* (for the loss of initial *h*, see § 177); the present participle and gerundive *ayant*, from *habentem, habendo* (see § 553); the past participle *eu*, O. F. *avut, aūt, aū, oū, eū*, from **habūtum* for *hābitum*.

§ 572. The present indicative *ai* from *habeo* (through the popular forms **abio, *aio*), *as* (*hābes*), *a*, O. F. *at* (*hābet*), *avons*, O. F. *avomes* (*habēmus*), *avez* (*habētis*), *ont* (*hābent*)¹. The imperfect *avais*, O. F. *aveie* (*habēbam*), *avais* (*habēbas*), *avait* (*habēbat*), *avions*, O. F. *aviomes* (*habebāmus*), *aviez* (*habebātis*), *avaient* (*habēbant*). The preterite *eus*, O. F. *oi* (*hābui*), *eus*, O. F. *oūs* (*habuīsti*), *eut*, O. F. *ot* (*hābuit*), *eūmes*², O. F. *oūmes* (*habuīmus*), *eūtes*, O. F. *oūstes* (*habuīstis*), *eurent*, O. F. *orent* (*hābuerunt*).

§ 573. The future and conditional *aurai*, O. F. *avrai*, &c., and *aurais*, O. F. *avrais*, &c., from *habere-habeo, habere-habēbam* (see § 551, *note*). The old forms *avrai, avrais* became *aurai, aurait* (compare *savrai, saurait*) in the fourteenth century through the vocalisation of *v* (see § 259, ii. n. ii.)

§ 574. The present subjunctive *aie* (*hābeam*), *aies* (*hābeas*), *aît* (*hābeat*), *ayons*, O. F. *aiomes* (*habeāmus*), *ayez* (*habeātis*), *aient* (*hābeant*). The imperfect from Latin pluperfect (see § 545, iii.), *eusse*, O. F. *oüsse* (*habuīssē*), *eusses*, O. F. *oüsses* (*habuīsses*), *eût*, O. F. *oüst* (*habuīssēt*), *eussions* (*habuīssēmus*),

¹ For *ont*, see § 552, vi.

² For the circumflex in *eūmes*, see § 566.

eussiez (*habuissétis*), *eussent*, O. F. *oüssent* (*habuüssent*). The forms of the imperative, *aie*, *ait*, *ayons*, *ayez*, *aient*, are borrowed from the present subjunctive.

CHAPTER II.

CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS.

The Four Conjugations.

§ 575. The French verbs, which are 4,060 in number¹, are arranged under four conjugations, according to the termination of the infinitive. The first conjugation, in *-er*, is the largest by far, comprising 3,620 verbs; the second, in *-ir*, comprises 350 verbs; the third, in *-oir*, comprises 30 only, and the fourth, in *-re*, 60. Thus nearly nine-tenths of the French verbs belong to the first conjugation.

§ 576. At first sight, to judge from the infinitives only, it would appear as if the four Latin conjugations had been preserved distinct in French; thus we find verbs in *-er* corresponding to Latin *-āre* (see § 31) of the first conjugation, e.g. *chant-er* (*cant-āre*); verbs in *-oir* corresponding to Latin *-ēre* (see § 41) of the second conjugation, e.g. *dev-oir* (*deb-ēre*); verbs in *-re* corresponding to Latin *-ĕre* of the third conjugation, e.g. *rend-re* (*redd-ĕre*); and verbs in *-ir* corresponding to Latin *-īre* (see § 56, i.) of the fourth conjugation, e.g. *fin-ir* (*fin-īre*). This apparent correspondence between the Latin and French conjugations led to the classification of all French verbs into four conjugations, according to the termination of

¹ This calculation is based on the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (ed. 1835). In the sixty years which have elapsed since that date a considerable number of new verbs, chiefly of scientific origin, has been added.

the infinitive—a classification which, as will be seen, is entirely artificial.

Living and Dead Conjugations.

§ 577. Actually there are in French two kinds of conjugation:—

- i. The *dead* conjugations, comprising the verbs in *-oir*, in *-re*, and certain non-inchoative¹ verbs in *-ir* (see § 582).
- ii. The *living* conjugations, comprising the verbs in *-er*, and the so-called inchoative¹ verbs in *-ir*. The term 'living' is applied to these two conjugations owing to the fact that to one or other of them belong without exception all new verbs of French creation, whatever their origin. As a general rule, the verbs derived from *substantives* fall under the conjugation in *-er*, e. g. *plume*—*plumer*; *feuillet*—*feuilleter*; *mur*—*murer*; *télégraphe*—*télégraphier*, &c.; while the verbs derived from *adjectives* fall under the conjugation in *-ir*, e. g. *grand*—*grandir*; *faible*—*faiblir*; *noir*—*noircir*; *rouge*—*rougir*, &c.

First Conjugation (-er).

§ 578. The first conjugation, which, as we have just seen (§ 577), is one of the living conjugations, comprises all verbs of popular formation derived from Latin verbs in *-āre*, e. g. *chant-er* (*cant-āre*); *pens-er* (*pens-āre*), &c., there being no instance in which a verb of the first Latin conjugation has passed into any other in French. On the other hand, many verbs in *-ēre*, *-ĕre*, *-īre*, have been adopted into this conjugation; thus we have *pu-er*, O. F. *pu-ir* (*put-ēre*); *exerc-er* (*exerc-ēre*); *persuad-er* (*persuad-ēre*), &c.; *absorb-er* (*absorb-ēre*), &c.; *afflig-er* (*afflig-ēre*); *imprim-er* (*imprim-ēre*); *tiss-er* (*téx-ēre*)², &c.; *touss-er*, O. F. *toss-ir* (*tuss-īre*); *pav-er* (*pav-īre*), and so on.

¹ For the explanation of these terms, see § 581.

² Regular forms of these three verbs existed in O. F., e. g. *afflire*, *em-*

Second Conjugation (-ir).

579. The second conjugation comprises verbs derived from Latin verbs in *-īre*, e. g. *fin-ir* (*fin-īre*); *part-ir* (*part-īre*); *ven-ir* (*ven-īre*); *ou-ir* (*aud-īre*); *sent-ir* (*sens-īre*), &c., also a certain number derived from Latin verbs in *-ēre*, e. g. *ten-ir* (*ten-ēre*); *mois-ir* (*muc-ēre*); *empl-ir* (*impl-ēre*); *fleur-ir* (*flor-ēre*), &c., and from Latin verbs in *-ĕre*, e. g. *cour-ir* (*cūrr-ĕre*); *gém-ir* (*gém-ĕre*), &c.

§ 580. These verbs in *-ir* are divided into two very distinct classes—one of which, and far the larger, belongs to the living conjugation, while the other, comprising only about a score of verbs¹, belongs to the dead conjugation (see § 577).

§ 581. The verbs in *-ir* which belong to the living conjugation are distinguished by the fact that they intercalate the syllable *-iss-* between the radical and the termination in certain tenses, viz. in the present and imperfect indicative, in the present subjunctive, in the imperative, and in the present participle and gerundive; while in all the other tenses, viz. the preterite, the imperfect subjunctive, the infinitive, the future and conditional, and the past participle, the radical remains unchanged. The origin of these lengthened forms (with the intercalated syllable *-iss-*) is to be found in what are called the *inchoative*² verbs in Latin, a name applied to them by Priscian, because they express the beginning of the action indicated by the simple verb. The characteristic of these inchoative verbs is the termination *-scĕre* in the infinitive; thus *lab-āre*, to totter, *lab-ascĕre*, to begin to totter; *splend-ĕre*, to shine, *splend-escĕre*, to begin to shine; *trém-ĕre*, to tremble, *trem-iscĕre*, to begin to tremble; *obdorm-ĭre*, to fall asleep, *obdorm-iscĕre*, to begin to fall asleep, &c.

preindre (whence *empreinte*), *tistre* (whence *tissu*). *Empreindre* still exists alongside of *imprimer* (with a slight distinction in meaning); while *tissu*, the past participle of *tistre*, is still employed.

¹ See § 583, note.

² From *inchoare*, to begin.

Similar verbs were formed from substantives, e. g. *vespera*, evening, *vesper-escēre*, to grow dusk; *pluma*, a feather, *plum-escēre*, to become fledged; and from adjectives, e. g. *durus*, hard, *dur-escēre*, to grow hard; *mitis*, mellow, *mit-escēre*, to ripen; and so on. This characteristic formation was adopted in French, and applied (with complete abandonment of its inchoative force) to a large number of verbs in *-ir*; the application being, however, as we have seen, restricted to certain tenses.

§ 582. Taking *finir* (*finīre*) as our type, we get the following model of the inchoative or living form of the second French conjugation (see § 577, ii.):—

I. INCHOATIVE FORMS.

INDICATIVE.

Present.

fin-isc-o : <i>fin-is</i>	fin-isc-imus : <i>fin-iss-ons</i> ¹
fin-isc-is : <i>fin-is</i>	fin-isc-itis : <i>fin-iss-ēs</i> ¹
fin-isc-it : <i>fin-it</i> , O. F. <i>-ist</i>	fin-isc-unt : <i>fin-iss-ent</i> .

Imperfect.

fin-isc-ēbam : <i>fin-iss-ais</i> , O. F. <i>-eie</i>	fin-isc-ebāmus : <i>fin-iss-ions</i>
fin-isc-ēbas : <i>fin-iss-ais</i> , O. F. <i>-eies</i>	fin-isc-ebātis : <i>fin-iss-iez</i>
fin-isc-ēbat : <i>fin-iss-aît</i>	fin-isc-ēbant : <i>fin-iss-aient</i> .

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Present.

fin-isc-am : <i>fin-iss-e</i>	fin-isc-āmus : <i>fin-iss-ions</i>
fin-isc-as : <i>fin-iss-es</i>	fin-isc-ātis : <i>fin-iss-iez</i>
fin-isc-at : <i>fin-iss-e</i>	fin-isc-ant : <i>fin-iss-ent</i> .

¹ Etymologically *fin-isc-imus*, *fin-isc-itis*, ought to have given *fin-ismes* (*-imes*), *fin-istes* (*-ites*); the actual forms in *-ons*, *-ēs*, are due to the analogy of the other conjugations.

IMPERATIVE.

<i>fin-isc-e</i> : <i>fin-is</i>	<i>fin-isc-imus</i> : <i>fin-iss-ons</i> ¹
<i>fin-isc-at</i> : <i>fin-isse</i>	<i>fin-isc-itis</i> : <i>fin-iss-ez</i> ¹
	<i>fin-isc-ant</i> : <i>fin-iss-ent</i> .

PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

fin-isc-éntem : *fin-iss-ant*.

GERUNDIVE.

fin-isc-éndo : (*en*) *fin-iss-ant*.

II. NON-INCHOATIVE FORMS.

INDICATIVE.

Preterite.

<i>fin-ivi</i> : <i>fin-is</i> , O. F. <i>-i</i>	<i>fin-iv(i)mus</i> : <i>fin-îmes</i> , O. F. <i>-imes</i>
<i>fin-(iv)isti</i> : <i>fin-is</i> , O. F. <i>-ist</i>	<i>fin-(iv)istis</i> : <i>fin-îtes</i> , O. F. <i>-istes</i>
<i>fin-iv(i)t</i> : <i>fin-it</i>	<i>fin-iv(ë)runt</i> : <i>fin-irent</i> .

Future and Conditional.

<i>finir-ábeo</i> (for <i>finire-hábeo</i>) : <i>finir-ai</i>
<i>finir-ábes</i> : <i>finir-as</i> , &c. &c.
<i>finir-abébam</i> (for <i>finire-habébam</i>) : <i>finir-ais</i> , O. F. <i>-eie</i>
<i>finir-abébas</i> : <i>finir-ais</i> , O. F. <i>-eies</i> , &c. &c.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Imperfect.

<i>fin-i(v)-issem</i> : <i>finisse</i>	<i>fin-i(v)-issémus</i> : <i>fin-issions</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-isses</i> : <i>fin-isses</i>	<i>fin-i(v)-issétis</i> : <i>fin-issiez</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-isset</i> : <i>fin-it</i> , O. F. <i>-ist</i>	<i>fin-i(v)-issent</i> : <i>fin-issent</i> .

¹ These forms are borrowed from the present indicative, as to which, see above (§ 582, n. i.).

INFINITIVE.

fin-ire : finir.

PAST PARTICIPLE.

fin-ítum : fini.

§ 583. The verbs in *-ir*, which belong to the dead conjugation, and are sometimes distinguished as non-inchoative verbs, follow closely the Latin conjugation in all their tenses. They comprise but a small number, twenty-one in all¹, as compared to the inchoatives, which number more than 300.

§ 584. Thus then, to sum up, the verbs of the second French conjugation are divided into classes—the *inchoatives*, which are the true irregular verbs, since as we have seen (582) they are partly inchoative and partly non-inchoative; and the *non-inchoatives*, which reproduce the Latin conjugation throughout. It would seem at first sight that the latter class ought to be taken as the types of the second conjugation in French, and the inchoatives classed among the irregular verbs; but the grammarians have followed the opposite course—they decided that the non-inchoatives should be classed as irregular, and that the inchoatives should furnish the type of the regular second conjugation. It is true that they had numbers on their side, for, as we have already pointed out (§ 583), the numerical proportions of the two classes are as fifteen to one.

¹ The following is the list of them :—*bouillir, courir, couvrir, cueillir, dormir, faillir, fuir, guérir, mentir, mourir, offrir, ouvrir, partir, repentir, sentir, sortir, souffrir, tenir, tressaillir, venir, vêtir*. Several verbs, which are at present inchoative, had in O. F. simple forms which they have since lost. Thus we find O. F. *emplant* (*implent*) instead of *emplissent* (*impléscunt*) from *emplir*; and *gément* (*gémunt*), *gémant* (*gémentem*) instead of *gémissent* (*géméscunt*), *gémissant* (*gémiscéntem*) from *gémir*.

Third Conjugation (-oir).

§ 585. The third conjugation, which comprises only thirty verbs (seventeen simple and thirteen compound), corresponds to the second Latin conjugation. It includes not only verbs derived from Latin verbs in *-ĕre*, e. g. *av-oir* (*hab-ĕre*); *dev-oir* (*deb-ĕre*), &c., but also a certain number derived from strong verbs in *-ĕre* (accented on the radical), which in popular Latin assumed the weak infinitive *-ĕre* (accented on the termination)¹, e. g. *sav-oir* (*sap-ĕre*, class. *sápĕre*); *fall-oir* (*fall-ĕre*, class. *fállĕre*); *recev-oir* (*recip-ĕre*, class. *recípĕre*)².

Fourth Conjugation (-re).

§ 586. The fourth conjugation, which includes sixty verbs, corresponds to the third (strong) Latin conjugation in *-ĕre*. Besides verbs derived from strong Latin verbs in *-ĕre*, e. g. *lire* (*lég-ĕre*); *fondre* (*fúnd-ĕre*); *vendre* (*vénd-ĕre*), &c., it comprises also a number of verbs which were weak in classical Latin, but by throwing back the accent became strong in popular Latin, e. g. *rire* (*rid-ĕre*, class. *rid-ĕre*); *répondre* (*respónd-ĕre*, class. *respond-ĕre*); *tondre* (*tónd-ĕre*, class. *tond-ĕre*); *mordre* (*mórd-ĕre*, class. *mord-ĕre*); *plaire* (*plác-ĕre*, class. *plac-ĕre*); *taire* (*tác-ĕre*, class. *tac-ĕre*), &c. In accordance with the classical Latin forms these French verbs should have been *ridoir*, *répondoir*, *tondoir*, &c.³

¹ See § 554.

² In O. F. an infinitive *receivre* was in use, corresponding to the strong Lat. inf. *recípĕre*; cf. *plaisir* (*placĕre*), *plaire* (*plácĕre*) and *loisir* (*licĕre*), O. F. *loire* (*licĕre*).

³ The weak forms *placĕre*, *tacĕre* are represented (with change of termination) by *plaisir*, and O. F. *taisir*.

CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF TENSES.

Tense-terminations.

§ 587. In the subjoined table are given the terminations of (1) the living conjugations¹, comprising the first conjugation (type *chanter*), and the inchoative second (type *finir*), (2) the dead conjugations¹, viz. the non-inchoative second (type *dormir*), the third (type *devoir*), and the fourth (type *croire*)². Except in the infinitive, the perfect, the imperfect subjunctive, and the past participle³, it will be noticed that the terminations (which are independent of the variations of radical, e. g. *dor-*, *dorm-*; *doi-*, *dev-*, *doiv-*, &c.) of the three dead conjugations are identical; these have, therefore, been grouped together. The two types of the second conjugation (non-inchoative: *dormir*; inchoative: *finir*) have been grouped together except in the tenses which admit the inchoative forms. The future and conditional having been dealt with already (§§ 548-51), are omitted from the table. Remarks on various points of interest in the table are given below (§§ 589-600).

§ 588. TABLE OF TENSE-TERMINATIONS.

Infinitive.

1. Chant-er	2. Dorm-ir ⁴	2. Fin-ir ⁵
	3. Dev-oir	
	4. Croi-re	

¹ See § 577.

² This verb has been selected as the type of the fourth conjugation, in spite of the so-called irregularity of its perfect, because it exhibits the terminations in certain instances better than *vendre*; e. g. *vend* does not show the *t* of 3 sing. pres. ind., while *croît* does.

³ The forms of these tenses are dealt with below, see §§ 591-3, 596, 598, 600.

⁴ Non-inchoative (see § 583).

⁵ Inchoative (see § 581).

Present Indicative.

Chant-e	Dor-, doi-, croi-s	Fin-is
-es	-s	-is
-e	-t	-it
-ons	dorm-, dev-, croy-ons	-iss-ons
-ez	-ez	-iss-ez
-ent	doiv-, croi-ent	-iss-ent.

Imperfect Indicative.

Chant-ais	Dorm-, dev-, croy-ais	Fin-iss-ais
-ais	-ais	-iss-ais
-ait	-ait	-iss-ait
-ions	-ions	-iss-ions
-iez	-iez	-iss-iez
-aient	-aient	-iss-aient.

Perfect.

Chant-ai	Dus, crus	Dorm-, fin-is
-as	-us	-is
-a	-ut	-it
-âmes	-ûmes	-îmes
-âtes	-ûtes	-îtes
-èrent	-urent	-îrent.

Present Subjunctive.

Chant-e	Dorm-, doiv-, croi-e	Fin-iss-e
-es	-es	-iss-es
-e	-e	-iss-e
-ions	dev-, croy-iôns	-iss-ions
-iez	-iez	-iss-iez
-ent	doiv-, croi-ent	-iss-ent.

Imperfect Subjunctive.

Chant-asse	Dusse, crusse	Dorm-, fin-isse
-asses	-usses	-isses
-ât	-ût	-ît
-assions	-ussions	-issions
-assiez	-ussiez	-issiez
-assent	-ussent	-issent

Imperative.

Chant-e	Dor-, doi-, croi-s	Fin-is
-e	dorm-, doiv-, -e	-iss-e
-ons	dev-, croy-ons	-iss-ons
-ez	-ez	-iss-ez
-ent	doiv-, croi-ent	-iss-ent

Present Participle and Gerundive.

Chant-ant	Dorm-, dev-, croy-ant	Fin-iss-ant
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Past Participle.

Chant-é	Dû, cru	Dorm-, fin-i.
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*REMARKS ON THE TABLE.**Present Indicative.*

§ 589. The final *e* of 1 sing. of the first conjugation (*chant-e*) is not etymological (*cânt-o*: *chant*), but is due to analogy; as is the final *s* of the dead conjugations (*dórm-io*: *dor-s*; *déb-éo*: *doi-s*; *créd-o*: *croi-s*) (see § 552, i.); in *fin-is*, on the other hand, its presence is justified by the etymology (*fin-isc-o*) (see § 582). On the loss of final *t* in 3 sing. of the first conjugation (*cântat*: O. F. *chantet*), see § 552, iii.—On the origin of *-ons* of 1 plur., see § 552, iv. On *-ez* of 2 plur., see § 552, v.; for *fin-iss-ons*, *fin-iss-ez*, instead of the etymological forms *fin-imes*, *fin-ites*,

see § 582, *n. i.* The forms *croy-ons*, *croy-ez* violate the law of the tonic accent (*créd-īmus*, *créd-ītis*); the regular forms would have been *croīmes*, *croītes*. Two instances of these strong forms (accented on the radical) survive in French, viz. *dīles* (*dīcītis*), and *fāiles* (*fācītis*); these, which used to be regarded as exceptions by grammarians, are in reality, as we have seen, the regular forms. In O. F. these verbs had strong forms also in 1 plur., e. g. *dīmes* (*dīcīmus*), *fāimes* (*fācīmus*), instead of *dīsons*, *fāisons*.

Imperfect Indicative.

§ 590. The Latin termination *-ābam* became in French, following the dialects from south to north, *-ève*, *-oie* (*-eie*), *-oue*. Thus *cant-ābam* became in Burgundy *chant-ève*, in the Île-de-France¹ *chant-oie*, in Normandy *chant-oue*². The French dialect¹ having gradually supplanted all the others, its imperfect in *-oie* (*-ābam*) prevailed and became the type of the modern French imperfect. In the fourteenth century an *s* was wrongly added to the first person singular (see 552, *i.*), whence we arrive at the form in *-ois* (*chant-ois*); this was in use down

¹ The name of *France* was in the Middle Ages applied almost exclusively to the province which was later, on account of the numerous rivers surrounding it, called the *Île-de-France*. The inhabitants of this district were *Frenchmen*, and the language spoken by them was *French*, which, it should be borne in mind, was at first simply one of the several dialects of the *Langue d'Oïl*. For the circumstances which led to the ultimate supremacy of the French dialect, see *Introduction*, pp. 23 ff.

² Observe how closely the Burgundian form *chant-ève*, which retains the Latin consonant (*b* : *v*), resembles the original *cant-ābam*. Indeed it may be stated as a general law that the Romance forms, which in the south are as clear and sonorous as the Latin itself, gradually contract and become deadened as they approach the north. Thus *cant-ābam* in Spain is represented by *cant-aba*, in Italy and Provence by *cant-ava*, in Burgundy by *chant-ève*, in the Île-de-France by *chant-oie*, in Normandy by *chant-oue*. The Latin word may be compared to a very sensitive thermometer, which falls lower and lower as it is carried northward, the changes taking place gently and gradually in continued and successive descents, according to the old saying : 'Natura nil facit per saltum.'

to the end of the eighteenth century, when Voltaire (see § 133 *n.*) substituted for it the existing form in *-ais* (*chant-ais*). This reform had already been suggested a century before Voltaire's time (in 1675) by an obscure lawyer, Nicholas Bérain.—In O. F. the 1 plur. and 2 plur., which are now dissyllabic (*chant-ions*, *-iez*), were trisyllabic (*chant-ions*, *-iez*) in accordance with the Latin accent (*canta(b)-ámus*: *chante-ens*; *canta(b)-átis*: *chante-ez*; on the persistence of the counterfinal *a* in these words, see §§ 26, i., 37).

Perfect.

§ 591. The terminations *-ávi*, *-ávit*, of the first conjugation, which in popular Latin became *-ái*, *-ávt*, give the regular French forms *-ai*, *-a* (O. F. *-at*); *-avísti* became *-ásti*, whence O. F. *-ast*, which lost the final *t* (*chant-as*) towards the ninth century, owing to the analogy of the 2 sing. of all the other tenses (*chant-es*, *-ais*, *-asses*, *-eras*, *-erais*) in which final *s* is the characteristic letter (§ 552, ii.); *-ávimus* became *-ávmus*, *-ámmus*, whence O. F. *-ames*, which later, on the analogy of the 2 plur., became *-asmes*, whence the modern *-âmes* (§ 566); *-avístis* became *-ástis*, whence O. F. *-astes*, modern *-âtes*; the 3 plur. *-ávērunt*, becoming *-ávērunt*, *-árunt*, regularly gives *-èrent* (§ 552, vi.).

§ 592. Etymologically the 1 sing. of the perfect of the second conjugation should end in *-i*, as it did in O. F. (*fin-ivi*: *fin-i*; *dorm-ivi*: *dorm-i*); the *s* is due to analogy (see § 552, i.). The remarks in the preceding paragraph on the perfect of the first conjugation apply equally to that of the second, the only difference being that in the latter case *i* (*-ivi*) is substituted for *a* (*-avi*) in the Latin.

§ 593. The perfects of the third French conjugation are strong, i. e. accented on the radical, e. g. *débui*: *dus*, *hábui*: *eus*, *sapui*: *sus*, *pótui*: *pus*, &c. In O. F. the perfect of *devoir*, for instance, was conjugated as follows:—

débui : *dui*¹, debuîmus : *deûmes*
 debuîsti : *deûs*, debuîstis : *deûstes*
 débuit : *dut*, débuërent : *durent*.

Here we find three strong forms, *dui*—*dut*—*durent*, and three weak, *deûs*—*deûmes*—*deûstes*; in modern French the tense is strong throughout, the weak forms having been assimilated to the strong.—In the fourth French conjugation, of which *vendre* has been selected by the grammarians as the regular type, the perfect is weak (*vendis*), although the original Latin perfect was strong (*véndîdi*); the change took place in popular Latin, **vendédi*, **vendéi*, whence *vendi*'(s).—For the perfect of *croire*, which is classed among the irregulars, see § 605, iv.

Future and Conditional.

§ 594. These tenses do not appear in the above table; owing to the fact that they are compounded respectively of the infinitive with the present and imperfect of *avoir*, as has already been explained (§§ 549–51), the remarks on the terminations of those two tenses (§§ 589–90) apply equally in their case, and need not be repeated here.

Present Subjunctive.

§ 595. In the first conjugation the 3 plur. alone has preserved the etymological form (*cant-ent*: *chant-ent*).—The final *e* of the 1, 2, 3 sing., which did not exist in O. F. (*cant-em*: *chant*, *cant-es*: *chanz*, i.e. *chant-s*, *cant-et*: *chant*, i.e. *chant-t*) is due to the analogy of verbs such as *entr-âre*, pres. subj. *entr-em*: *entr(e)*, in which the final *e* is present as supporting vowel (see §§ 23, iii., 552, i.). In the other conjugations, the final *e* is regular, as it represents the *a* of Latin *-am*, *-as*, *-at* (in *dormi-am*, *-as*, *-at*; *débe-am*, &c.; *vénd-am*, &c.; *fin-*

¹ Owing to the analogy of the other persons in which *u* is characteristic, *dui* was changed into *du*, and later (§ 552, i.) *dus*.

isc-am, &c.).—The *t* of 3 sing. has disappeared here as it did elsewhere (see § 552, iii.), except in the two auxiliaries, **hábeat**: *aít*, **siat*: *soít*.—It is now impossible to distinguish between the 1, 2 plur. of the imperfect indicative (*chant-ions*, *-iez*) and the same persons of the present subjunctive. In O. F. they were clearly distinguished, since the former were trisyllabic (*chant-ions*, *-iez*—see § 590), while the latter were dissyllabic (*chant-ions*, *-iez*)¹.

Imperfect Subjunctive.

§ 596. Here as in the perfect (see §§ 591-2), the French forms are derived from the contracted Latin forms (**cant-avisse**m, **-asse**m: *chant-asse*; **dorm-ivisse**m, **-isse**m: *dorm-isse*). In the inchoative conjugation the forms of the present and imperfect subjunctive are identical in French, with the exception of 3 sing.; in reality, however, they are quite distinct, the former being one of the inchoative tenses (**fin-isc-am**, **-isc-as**, &c.; *fin-iss-e*, *-iss-es*, &c.), while the latter is non-inchoative (**fin-issem**, **-isses**, for **-ivissem**, **-ivisses**: *fin-isse*, *-isses*, &c.).

Imperative.

§ 597. The 2 sing. is derived from the Latin imperative, e. g. **cánt-a**: *chant-e*; **fin-isc-e**: *fin-is*. The 3 sing. and plur. are borrowed from the present subjunctive, while the 1, 2 plur. are borrowed from the indicative.

Infinitive.

§ 598. To the details given above (§§ 585-6) we may add that certain Latin infinitives in **-ōre** (consequently *strong*) produced *strong* infinitives in O. F., which in modern French

¹ The general use of these forms in *-ions*, *-iez*, of the 1, 2 plur. pres. subj. only dates back to the sixteenth century. Their origin is somewhat obscure; **cant-émus**, **-étis**, would regularly have given *chant-eins*, *-eis* (*-ois*); while **vend-ámus**, **átis**, would have given *vend-ains*, *-es*. The *r*-forms are perhaps due to the analogy of the verbs in *-ir* (e. g. **dorm-iámus**, **-iátis**: *dorm-iens*, *-ies*).

have become *weak*. Thus *cúrrĕre*, *quáerĕre*, *frémĕre*, *gémĕre*, *imprímĕre*, *recípĕre*, *tóxĕre* gave O. F. *courre*¹, *querre*, *freindre*, *geindre*², *empreindre*², *reçoivre*, *listre*, which later, through a displacement of the accent, became *courir*, *quérir*, *frémir*, *gémir*, *imprimer*, *recevoir*, *tisser*.

Present Participle and Gerundive.

§ 599. As we have already seen (§ 553), the forms of the present participle and gerundive have become identical in French, owing to the similarity of the terminations, *-ántem*, *-ándo*, in Latin, which furnished the type for all four conjugations.

Past Participle.

§ 600. All the past participles of the so-called regular verbs are weak, e. g. *cant-átum* : *chant-é* ; *fin-ítum* : *fin-i* ; **deb-útum*, O. F. *dĕ-u*, *dū* ; **vend-útum* : *vend-u*. The few strong forms of the past participle which exist in modern French belong exclusively to the so-called irregular verbs. Originally all past participles which were strong in Latin were strong in French ; thus *vend-re* (*vénd-ĕre*) had not *vend-u* (**vénd-útum*), but *vent* (*vén-dĭtum*) as its past participle, as is testified by the participial substantive *vente* (*vénd-ĭta*). At a later period these strong participles were displaced by weak ones in *-útum*, created on the model of *imb-útum*, *ind-útum*, *absol-útum*, &c., whence such forms as *du*, O. F. *dĕ-u* (**deb-útum*), *reçu*, O. F. *recĕ-u* (**recip-útum*), *cru*, O. F. *crĕ-u* (**cred-útum*), &c. When this took place the strong forms disappeared for the most part from among the participles, but a considerable number of them still survive as participial substantives.

¹ *Courre* survives in the sporting phrase '*courre le cerf*.' It was in common use for *courir* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, being employed by Molière, M^{me} de Sévigné, Bossuet, Voltaire, &c., especially in the phrase '*aller courre fortune*.'

² Both these strong forms survive alongside of the weak ones. On *empreindre*, see § 578, n.

Participial Substantives.

§ 601. Before taking leave of the past participle we may observe that the Romance languages generally, and French in particular, possess the remarkable faculty of being able to form substantives from past participles; for example, the terms *un reçu, un fait, un dû*, are merely the past participles of *recevoir, faire, devoir*. This process takes place more especially in the case of feminine participles, e. g. *issue, vue, étouffée, venue, avenue, &c.*

§ 602. The number of substantives thus added to the language is considerable, for they are formed from participles of both classes, strong as well as weak.

i. From weak (or so-called regular) participles:—
chevauchée, accouchée, fauchée, tranchée; avenue, battue, crue, déconvenue, entrevue, étendue, issue, revue, tenue, &c.

ii. From strong (or so-called irregular) participles:—
un dit, un joint, un réduit, un trait, &c.

The majority of the O. F. strong participles, such as *vente (véndīta), perte (pérdīta)*, assumed in modern French the weak form (*vendue, perdue*), and thus disappeared as participles, though they have survived as substantives, as we have already indicated (§ 600).

§ 603. Subjoined is a list of some of the most noteworthy of these old strong participles which survive at the present time as substantives—a list of which the special interest lies in the illustration it affords of the history of the Latin accent, and of the influence exerted by it at the time when the French language was in process of formation¹:—

implicita: *emplette—employée*²

explicitum: *exploit—éployé*

morsum: *mors—mordu*

¹ G. Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 78.

² The old strong participle, now substantive, is given first, then the modern weak participle.

cúrſa : *course—courue*
**intórſa* : *entorse—tordue*
rápta : *route*¹—*rompue*
defénſa : *défense—défendue*
ténta : *tente*²—*tendue*
réndita : *rente—rendue*
**péndita* : *pente*³—*pendue*
véndita : *vente—vendue*
pérdita : *perte—perdue*
recépta : *recette—reçue*
débita : *dette—dûe*
elécta : *élite—élue*
responsa : *réponse—répondue*
pénſum : *poi(d)s—pendu*.

In some cases the strong participle has survived as a substantive, without there being any corresponding weak form:—

tráctum : *trait*⁴
míſſum : *mets* (O. F. *mes*)⁵
púncta : *pointe*⁶
míſſa : *messe*⁷
quáſſita : *quête*⁸ .
móta : *meute*⁹, &c.
**pónita* : *ponte*
súrſa : *source*¹⁰.

¹ With the compound *déroute*.

² With the compounds *attente*, *détente*, *entente*, &c.

³ With the compound *soupenie*.

⁴ With the compounds *retrait*, *portrait*.

⁵ The past participle *mis* is a doublet of *mets*, in which the *t* is a modern insertion.

⁶ This word survives as participle in the compound *courte-pointe*, O. F. *couills-pointe* (**cũlũita-pũncta*), lit. 'pricked quilt,' of which Eng. *counterpane* is a corruption.

⁷ The past participle *mise* is a doublet of *messe*.

⁸ With the compounds *conquête*, *requête*, *enquête*; the p.p. *quise* is a doublet of *quête*.

⁹ With the compound *émeute*; the p.p. *mue* is a doublet of *meute*.

¹⁰ With the compound *ressource*.

CHAPTER IV.

'IRREGULAR,' DEFECTIVE, AND ANOMALOUS VERBS.

'Regular' and 'Irregular' Verbs.

§ 804. The grammarians have applied the term *regular* to the verbs treated of in the last two chapters (§§ 575-603), viz. those belonging to the four conjugations typified respectively by *chant-er*, *fin-ir*, *dev-oir*, and *vend-re*; while the verbs which in any way depart from those models are classed as *irregular*. If, however, due regard be paid to the position of the Latin accent it will be seen that the so-called irregular verbs are more appropriately classed as *strong*, and the regular as *weak* verbs. The terms *regular* and *irregular* do but state a fact at best; while the distinction between *strong* and *weak* goes deeper, and constitutes a principle. (See §§ 554-6.) Regarded from this point of view the old conception of 'irregularity' disappears, and the term becomes applicable only to anomalous and defective verbs; the strong verbs (hitherto classed as 'irregulars') being considered as simply another form of conjugation. The idea of 'irregularity' presupposes formations which, from one cause or another, have deviated from the typical form; but in the case of the strong verbs no such deviation has taken place—they are as 'regular' as any other, only they obey a different law.

§ 805. The so-called 'regular' verbs of the first, second, and fourth conjugations, have a weak perfect (accented on the termination), *chant-ai* (*cant-ávi*), *fin-is* (*fin-ívi*), *vend-is* (**vend-édi*) (see §§ 593-4); the so-called 'irregular' verbs all have a strong perfect (accented on the radical), e. g. *tins* (*tén-úi*), *dis* (*díx-i*), *fis* (*féo-i*).

- i. In the first conjugation there are no 'irregular' verbs properly speaking, *aller* and *envoyer* (see §§ 627-8) being anomalous.

- ii. In the second (non-inchoative) conjugation there are two 'irregular' verbs, viz. *tenir*, pf. *tins* (*tén-ui*); and *venir*, pf. *vins* (*vén-i*).
- iii. The seventeen verbs which compose the third conjugation, and which have plagued philosophical grammarians from Vaugelas down to Girault-Duvivier¹, are for the most part old strong verbs, with weak (modern) infinitives; e. g. *recevoir*, O. F. *reçoivre* (*recépère*); *concevoir*, O. F. *conçoivre* (*concépère*); *decevoir*, O. F. *deçoivre* (*decépère*); these all have strong perfects *reçu*, *conçu*, *deçu* (see § 593), from **recipui*, **concipui*, **decipui* (for class. *recēpi*, &c.), the perfects of the popular Latin **recépère* (*recevoir*), **concépère* (*concevoir*), **decépère* (*decevoir*).
- iv. In the fourth conjugation there are nine 'irregular' verbs, viz. *dire* (*dicère*), *faire* (*fācère*), *mettre* (*mittère*), *prendre* (*préndère*), *rire* (**ridère* for *ridère*), *plaire* (**plācère* for *placère*), *taire* (**tācère* for *tacère*), *lire* (*légère*), *croire* (*crédère*), which have the strong perfects, *dis* (*dīxi*), *fis* (*fēci*), *mis* (*mīsi*), *pris* (**prēsi* for *prēdi*), *ris* (*rīsi*), *plus*, O. F. *ploi* (*plācui*), *tus*, O. F. *toi* (*tācui*), *lus*, O. F. *lui* (**légui* for *légi*), *crus*, O. F. *cru* (**credui* for *crēdidi*).

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

§ 606. Defective verbs are those which are deficient in certain moods, tenses, or persons. The French defective verbs² are twenty-one in number, two of the first con-

¹ French grammarian (1765-1832), author of the *Grammaire des grammaires*.

² These verbs, though now defective, had in O. F. all their tenses and persons; the fact of their being defective, therefore, does not constitute a real ground for classification, it is simply an *historical* accident which may affect verbs of any conjugation.

jugation, viz. *ester*, *tisser*; six of the second, viz. *faillir*, *férir*, *issir*, *ouïr*, *quérir*, *gésir*; five of the third, viz. *chaloir*, *choir*, *falloir*, *seoir*, *souloir*; and eight of the fourth, viz. *braire*, *clore*, *frïre*, *paître*, *sourdre*, *soudre*, *tistre*, *traire*.

Ester.

§ 607. *Ester* is used in the infinitive only, which occurs in certain legal formulae, e. g. in the phrase '*ester en jugement*' (to bring an action, institute a suit); thus in the *Code Napoléon* (Art. 215): '*La femme ne peut ester en jugement sans l'autorisation de son mari.*' This verb, which comes from Latin *stāre* (see § 562, *n.*), is preserved in the compounds *contraster* (*contra-stāre*), *rester* (*re-stāre*), *arrêter*, O. F. *arrester* (*ad-re-stāre*); and in the participles *constant*, *distant*, *instant*, *nonobstant* (from *con-stāre*, *di-stāre*, *in-stāre*, *ob-stāre*). We have already seen (§ 561) that the present and past participles of *être* are borrowed from *ester*, viz. *étant* (*stāntem*), *été* (*stātum*).

Tisser, Tistre.

§ 608. The strong form *tistre*, which comes regularly from Lat. *téxere*, and was in common use in O. F., has been displaced by the modern weak form *tisser* (**texāre*). *Tistre* has now totally disappeared, except in the past participle *tissu* (which comes from *tistre*, just as *rendu* comes from *rendre*—see § 600); all the other tenses in use come from *tisser*.

Faillir, Falloir.

§ 609. The three persons of the singular of *faillir*, *je faux*, *tu faux*, *il faut*, have almost fallen into disuse, a circumstance which is to be regretted. The 3 sing. remains in the expressions '*le cœur me faut*,' and '*au bout de l'aune faut le drap*,' i. e. '*the cloth fails at the end of the ell*,' in other words, '*all things have an end.*' The future and conditional *faudrai*, *faudrais*, are also falling into oblivion, and are being replaced

by the composite forms *faillir-ai*, *-ais*; thus for 'je ne *faudrai* point à mon devoir,' it is becoming the fashion to say 'je ne *faillirai* point'

Falloir, which is used impersonally, is merely another form of *faillir*, the one coming from **fallère*, the other from **fallire*; both of these are popular forms of class. *fállère*, which regularly gave *faldre*, *faudre* in French, as appears from the future and conditional *faudr-ai*, *-ais* (i. e. *faudre-ai*, *-ais*).

Férir.

§ 610. *Férir*, from Lat. *ferire*, survives in the phrase 'sans coup *férir*,' e. g. 'D'Harcourt prit Turin sans coup *férir*,' i. e. without striking a blow. In O. F. *férir* was conjugated throughout:—pres. ind. je *fier* (*fério*), tu *fiers* (*féris*), il *fiert*¹ (*férit*), &c.; impf. *férais*; pf. *féri*; fut. *ferrai*; pres. subj. *fiere*, *fierge* (*fériam*); pres. part. *férant*; past part. *féru*.

Issir.

§ 611. *Issir*, from Latin *exire*, was conjugated in O. F. as follows:—pres. ind. *is* (*éxéo*), *is* (*éxis*), *ist* (*éxit*), *issons* (*eximus*), *issez* (*exitis*), *issent* (*éxeunt*); impf. *issais*; pf. *issi*; fut. *istrai*; pres. subj. *isse*; pres. part. *issant*; p. p. *issu* (and *issi*).

Ouir.

§ 612. *Ouir*, from Latin *audire*, was conjugated throughout in O. F.:—pres. ind. *ouïs*; impf. *oyais*; pf. *oï*; fut. *orraï*; pres. subj. *oïe*; pres. part. *oyant*; p. p. *oui* (*auditum*).

The O. F. future *orra*, now lost, was still in use in the seventeenth century; thus Malherbe wrote:—

'Et le peuple lassé des fureurs de la guerre,
Si ce n'est pour danser, n'*orra* plus de tambours.'

¹ This word survives in a few heraldic legends; e. g. the Solar family have as their motto: 'Tel *fiert*, qui ne tue pas.'

In the next century the imperfect and pres. part. were playfully employed by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau in an epigram :—

‘Par passe-temps un cardinal *oyait*
Lire les vers de Psyché, comédie,
Et les *oyant*, pleurait et larmoyait.’

The past part. survives in law-terms¹, e. g. ‘*Ouïe* la lecture de l’arrêt . . .,’ i. e. ‘after hearing the judgment read. . .’

Quérir.

§ 613. *Quérir*, whence *acquérir*, *conquérir*, *requérir*, is the weak form of *querre* (see § 598), which is found as late as La Fontaine. Besides the inf., the following strong forms were in use in O. F. :—pres. ind. *quier*, *quiers*, *quiert*, *quierent*; pf. *quis*; p.p. *quis*; and fut. *querrai*. These forms survive in the compounds, e. g. *acquièrs*, *acquis*, *acquerrai*.

Gésir.

§ 614. *Gésir* from Lat. *jacēre* (see § 579); a strong infinitive *gire* (**jácēre*) was also in use in O. F. The 3 sing. pres. ind. *git* (*jácet*) is mostly used in the phrase ‘*ci git*’ in epitaphs. Other forms in use are *gisons*, *gisez*, *gisent*; *gisais*, *-ait*, *-ions*, *-iez*, *-aient*; and *gisant*. A derivative is *gésine*, ‘child-bed,’ which La Fontaine uses of animals, e. g. ‘*La laie était en gésine*’ (*Fables*, iii. 6).

Chaloir.

§ 615. *Chaloir*, from Lat. *calēre*, is now used only in 3 sing. pres. ind. *chaut*: ‘*il ne m’en chaut*,’ i. e. ‘it does not concern me.’ It was employed by La Fontaine, Molière, and Pascal, who writes in the *Lettres Provinciales* (ix.) :—

‘Soit de bond, soit de volée que nous en *chaut-il*, pourvu que nous prenions la ville de gloire.’

¹ The English crier’s ‘O yes! O yes!’ is a corruption of the O. F. *oyez*, ‘listen.’ In law French there was a barbarous infinitive *oyer*, which occurs in the phrase ‘*oyer et terminer*.’

Voltaire also uses the word in the phrase '*peu m'en chaut*,' 'little care I.' In O. F. the verb *chaloir*, which survives in *nonchalant*, had all its tenses: *chalt*, *chaloit*, *chalut*, *chaldra*, *chaille*, *chalu*.

Choir.

§ 616. *Choir*, O. F. *chedeir*, *chëoir*, from Latin **cadère* for *cādère* (see § 585), is now used only in the infinitive. Formerly the verb was conjugated throughout: *chois*, *chéais*, *cherrai*, *chus* (O. F. *cheï*), *chéant*, *chu* (O. F. *cheü*). The future was employed as late as the seventeenth century, e. g. by Perrault:—

'Tirez la chevillette, et la bobinette *cherra*';

as was the pf. *chut*, e. g. by Bossuet:—

'Cet insolent *chut* du ciel en terre';

and the p.p. *chu*, e. g. by Molière:—

'Nous l'avons en dormant, madame, échappé belle,
Un monde près de nous a passé tout du long,
Est *chu* tout au travers de notre tourbillon.'

(*Femmes Savantes*, iv. 3.)

The compounds *déchoir* (*de-cadère*) and *échoir* (*ex-cadère*) are in use at the present day; in addition to which in O. F. there was *meschëoir*, *méchoir* (*minus-cadère*), of which the pres. part. survives in the adj. *méchant*, O. F. *meschëant*.

Seoir.

§ 617. *Seoir*, O. F. *sedeir*, *sëoir*, comes from Latin *sedere*. The participles *séant* (*sedentem*), *sis*, f. *sise* (*séssum*, *séssa*), are still in use. Its compounds are *asseoir* (*ad-sedere*), *rasseoir* (*re-ad-sedere*), and *surseoir* (*super-sedere*); as well as the participial adjectives *bienséant*, *malséant*.

Souloir.

§ 618. *Souloir*, from Latin *solere*, had all its tenses in O. F., but is now used only in the 3 sing. impf. ind., '*il soulait*,'

i. e. 'he was wont.' La Fontaine says of himself in his epitaph :—

'Jean s'en alla comme il était venu,
Mangea le fonds avec son revenu,
Tint les trésors chose peu nécessaire ;
Quant à son temps bien sut le dispenser :
Deux parts en fit, dont il *soulait* passer
L'une à dormir, et l'autre à ne rien faire.'

Braire.

§ 619. According to the French Academy *braire* is used only in the infinitive, and in the third persons of the pres. ind. (*braît, braient*), of the fut. (*braira, brairont*), and of the cond. (*brairait, brairaient*). Littré, however, was of opinion that this decision of the Academy was too sweeping, and he advocated the employment of all the forms of the verb which existed in O. F. (il *brayait*, il *a braît*, &c.). *Braire*, which is derived from popular Latin **brágère* (of uncertain origin), had in O. F. the general sense of 'to utter a cry,' and was applied to human beings as well as to animals; its restriction to the braying of an ass is of comparatively recent origin¹.

Clore.

§ 620. *Clore* comes from Latin *claudère* (see § 82); at present the only forms in use are 1, 2, 3 sing. pres. ind. *clos, clos, clôt*; fut. and cond. *clorai, clorais*; imper. *clos*; pres. subj. *close*; p.p. *clos, close*. Littré advocated the use of 1, 2, 3 plur. *closions, closez, closent*; impf. *closais* (O. F. *cloais*), pf. *closis* (O. F. *clos*), pres. part. *closant* (O. F. *cloant*). The compounds of *clore* are *éclore* (*ex-claudere*); *enclore* (*in-claudere*); and O. F. *forsclore, forclore* (*foris-claudere*), whence English *forclose*, and *reclore* (*re-claudere*), of which the p.p. *reclus, recluse*, is still in use. The compounds *exclure*,

¹ Exactly the same change has taken place with regard to the meaning of the Eng. *bray*; see *New Eng. Dict.* s. v.

conclure, are of learned formation from *excludere*, *concludere*.

Frîre.

§ 621. *Frîre*, from Latin *frigère*, which in O. F. was conjugated throughout, is now used only in the following forms:—1, 2, 3 sing. pres. ind. *fris*, *fris*, *frit*; fut. and cond. *frirai*, *frirais*; 2 sing. imper. *fris*; p.p. *frit*, *frite*. The pres. part. is preserved in the adj. *friand*. The old conjugation was on the same model as *rîre*, e.g. *frions*, *friez*, *frient*; *friaîs*; *frie*, &c.

Paître.

§ 622. *Paître*, O. F. *paistre*, from Latin *pascere* (see § 34, ii.), is used in pres. ind. *pais*, *pais*, *paît*, *paissions*, &c., impf. *paissais*, fut. and cond. *paîtrai*, *-ais*, imper. *pais*, pres. subj. *païsse*, pres. part. *paissant*, and p.p. *pu*; the perf. ind. and impf. subj. are wanting, though the former occurs in the compound *repâître*, pf. *repus*. The p.p. *pu* is used only as a falconry term:—‘un faucon qui a *pu*.’

Sourdre.

§ 623. *Sourdre*, O. F. *sordre*, from Latin *surgere*, had the strong p.p. *sors* (*sûrsum*), which survives only in the participial substantives *source*, *ressource* (see §§ 601–3). All the tenses of this verb (in 3 pers. only) are in use with the exception of the p.p. (*sourd*, *sourdent*; *sourdait*; *sourdit*; *sourdra*, *-ait*; *sourde*; *sourdît*; *sourdant*).

Soudre.

§ 624. *Soudre*, O. F. *soldre*, from Latin *solvere*, had a strong p.p. *sous*, and a weak one *solu*. The compounds *absoudre*, *dissoudre*, *résoudre*, had also the double p.p., of which *absolu* and *dissolu* are now used only as adjectives, the p.p. in use being *absous*, *dissous*; *résous* has been almost entirely displaced by *résolu*, though it is still occasionally used (in the

sense of 'dissolved'), e. g. 'brouillard *résous* en pluie' (*Acad.*). The p.p. in *-ous*, f. *-oute*¹, come from popular Latin forms **soltum*, **absoltum*, &c., while those in *-olu* come from classical Latin *solútum*, *absolútum*, &c.

Traire.

§ 625. *Traire* (from **trágère* for *tráhere*) had in O. F. all the meanings of the Latin word; its restriction to the sense of 'to milk' is comparatively recent; in the other senses it has been replaced by *tirer*. Its compounds are *abstraire* (*abs-t.*), *attirer* (*ad-t.*), *extraire*, *portraire* (*pro-t.*), *retraire*, *soustraire* (*subtus-t.*).

ANOMALOUS VERBS.

§ 626. Anomalous verbs are those whose irregularities forbid their being ranged under any classification. These are the true 'irregular' verbs (see § 604). They are as follows:—

Aller.

§ 627. The verb *aller* is made up of three different verbs:—

- i. The 1, 2, 3 sing. and the 3 plur. pres. ind. come from Latin *vádere*—je *vais*, O. F. *vois* (*vádo*), tu *vas* (*vádis*), il *va*, O. F. *vat*² (*vádit*), ils *vont*³ (*vádunt*). This verb occurs in the compound *envahir* (*invádere*).
- ii. The fut. and cond. come from Latin *íre*, from which they are formed in the ordinary way by means of the auxiliary *avoir* (see §§ 549-51), viz. *ir-ai*, *ir-ais*. This verb occurs in the compounds, O. F. *issir* (*exíre*), and the learned words *périr* (*períre*), *subir* (*subíre*).

¹ A. Darmesteter points out (*Gram. Hist.* ii. 167) that in reality we have here the masc. of an old participle in *-s* (*assous*, f. *assousse*), combined with the fem. of an old p.p. in *-t* (*assout*, f. *assoute*).

² See § 552, iii.

³ See § 552, vi.

- iii. All the other tenses come from a verb of obscure origin, which is in Italian *andare*, in Spanish and Portuguese *andar*, in Provençal *anar*, in O. F. *aler*, and in modern French *aller*¹. This verb furnishes the infinitive (*aller*) and participles (*allant*, *allé*); the 1, 2 plur. pres. ind. and imperative (*allons*, *allez*); the impf. ind. (*allais*, *-ais*, *-ait*, *-ions*, *-iez*, *-aient*); the perf. (*allai*, *-as*, *-a*, *-âmes*, *-âtes*, *-èrent*); the pres. subj. (*aille*, *ailles*, *aille*, *allions*, *-iez*, *aillent*); and the impf. subj. (*allasse*, *-asses*, *-ât*, *-assions*, *-assiez*, *-assent*).

Envoyer, Convoyer, Dévoyer, Fourvoyer.

§ 628. These four verbs are derivatives of the Latin *via*, which became *voie* in French (see § 41). *Envoyer*, from *in-viare*, means literally 'to set on the road.' *Convoyer* (**con-viare* from *cum-viare*), is 'to accompany on the road,' 'to escort'; a merchant-man is still spoken of as being '*convoyé par des vaisseaux de guerre*,' i. e. '*convoyed by men-of-war*.' *Dévoyer* (*dis-viare*) is 'to put off the road,' 'to lead astray'; a parallel form is *dévier* (*déviare*), 'to go off the road,' 'to go astray.' *Fourvoyer* (*foris-viare*), 'to put out of the road,' 'to send astray.'

Bénir.

§ 629. The Latin *benedicere* gave *beneistre* in O. F., which became modified (probably under the influence of *finir*) into *beneïr* and finally *bénir*. The grammarians have established an arbitrary distinction between the p.p. *bénit* and *béni*, the former being used in the literal sense ('pain *bénit*,' 'eau *bénite*'), the latter in the figurative ('Marie était *bénie* entre toutes les femmes'). This distinction, which dates only from the end of the seventeenth century, is wholly unreal, being

¹ At least ten etymologies of this word have been proposed (among them *adnare*, *enare*, *ambulare*, *aditare*, **ambitare*, **addare*), but none of them is completely satisfactory.

based on no etymological ground; *bénit* is simply the old form of *béni*, just as *finit* (*finítum*) is of *fini*, the final *t* having disappeared in the fourteenth century.

Courir.

§ 630. *Courir*, as we have seen above (§ 598), is merely a modern weak form of the old strong verb *courre* (*ouïrre*), which still survives as a hunting term ('chasser à *courre*,' 'courre un cerf').

Mourir.

§ 631. *Mourir* comes from popular Latin **morire* for *mori*, the classical deponent form; deponent forms, like those of the passive, disappeared in French, as we have already seen (§ 543).

Vivre.

§ 632. *Vivre*, from Latin *vivĕre*, makes the anomalous perfect *vécus*, O. F. *vesqui* (from **viscui* for *vixi*) and p.p. *vécu*, O. F. *vescu* (from **viscútum* for *victum*).

Boire.

§ 633. *Boire*, O. F. *boivre*, from Latin *bibĕre* (see § 41), by an exceptional change makes *buvons*, *-ez*; *buvais*, &c.; *buvant*, for *bevons*, *bevais*, *bevant*, the regular forms, which were in common use in O. F.

Voir.

§ 634. *Voir*, O. F. *vedeir*, *vĕoir* (*vidĕre*), makes its future *verrai*, O. F. *vedrai*, which comes regularly from *videre-hábeo*, **videraio*, **vidraio*. The form *-voirai*, which occurs in *pourvoirai*, *prévoirai*, is of recent origin; in O. F. the futures of *pourvoir* and *prévoir* were regularly *pourverrai*, *préverrai*.—It would seem at first sight that *vis* (*vidísti*), *vîmes* (**vidîmus*), *vîtes* (*vidístis*), *visse* (*vidíssem*), violate the law of the persistence of the Latin tonic accent; in reality these forms are

merely contractions of O. F. *veïs*, *veïmes*, *veïstes*, *veïsse*, in which the tonic accent persists. Formerly the perfect was conjugated as follows :—

<i>vi</i> (v idi)	<i>veïmes</i> (* vid imus)
<i>veïs</i> (vid isti)	<i>veïstes</i> (vid istis)
<i>vit</i> (vid it)	<i>virent</i> (* vid ērunt).

The same explanation holds good of the forms *tins*, *tinmes*, *tintes*, *tinsse*, and *vins*, *vinmes*, *vintes*, *vinsse*, which in O. F. were *tenis*, *venis* (**tenu**isti, **ven**isti), *tenimes*, *venimes* (***tenu**imus, ***ven**imus), *tenistes*, *venistes* (**tenu**istis, **ven**istis), *tenisse*, *venisse* (**tenu**issem, **ven**issem). (On the mixture of strong and weak forms in the O. F. perfect, see § 593.)

Mouvoir.

§ 635. *Mouvoir*, from Latin *movēre*, forms some of its tenses as if from a strong inf. *mouvre*, or more correctly *meuvre* (***mōv**ēre; cf. *ōp*era : *œ*uvre), e. g. 1, 2, 3 sing. and 3 plur. pres. ind. *meus*, *meus*, *meut*, *meuvent*; and 1, 2, 3 sing. and 3 plur. pres. subj. *meuve*, *meuves*, *meuve*, *meuvent*. In these strong forms the accent being on the radical (**mō**veo, **mō**vet, **mō**vent, **mō**veam, &c.) falls on the *ō*, which thus becomes *eu* in French (see § 68); in the weak forms (**mōv**ēmus, **mōv**ēbam, &c.) the *ō* being unaccented becomes *ou* (see § 73) in French (*mouvons*, *mouvais*, &c.). The pf. *mus*, O. F. *mui*, and p.p. *mu*, O. F. *meū*, come from popular Latin forms ***mōv**ui (for *movi*), ***mov**ūtum (for *motum*). An inf. in *-er*, *mouvoir*, formed after the pres. part. *mouvant* (on the analogy of *chanter*, *chantant*), is in popular use.

Savoir.

§ 636. *Savoir* comes from popular Latin ***sap**ēre (for class. **sāp**ere, which would have given **sāp**(e)re : *sē*vre, just as **oāp**ra : *chē*vre). The fut. *saurai*, which before the fourteenth century was *savrai*, comes from **sapere**-habeo, ***sap**(e)-raio, just as *aurai*, O. F. *avrai*, comes from **habere**-habeo, ***hab**(e)-raio (see §§ 551, n., 573). On *sache* from **sāp**iam, see § 255, ii.

Valoir.

§ 637. *Valoir*, from *valére*, made its present participle in O. F. *vaillant* (**valiéntem*), which survives as an adjective; the modern pres. part. *valant* comes, with change of termination (see § 553), direct from *valéntem*.

Écrire.

§ 638. The O. F. form *escrire* preserved the *b* of Latin *scribere*; as do at present all the anomalous forms, such as *écrivons*, *-ez*, *-ent*; *écrivais*, &c.; *écrive*, &c., from *scribimus*, *scribunt*, *scribebam*, *scribam*, &c. The O. F. perf. was strong, *escriis* (*scripsi*); towards the fourteenth century a weak perf. *escriis*, was substituted, which subsequently became *écrivis* under the influence of *écrivais*, &c. On the initial *e* of *écrire*, see § 105. Its compounds are *décrire*, *circonscrire*, *prescrire*, *proscrire*, *souscrire*, *transcrire*.

Naître.

§ 639. *Naître*, O. F. *naistre*, from *nāscere* (for the deponent form *nāsci*—see § 543), as *paître* comes from *pāscere* (see § 34, ii.), makes its perfect *naquis*, O. F. *nasqui*, from popular Latin **nāscui*. The p.p. *né* comes regularly from *nātum*; in O. F. there was also a p.p. *nascu* (**nāscūtum*) answering to the perfect.

Duire, Conduire, &c.

§ 640. *Duire* (from *dūcēre*) and its compounds *conduire*, *déduire*, *induire*, *introduire*, *produire*, *réduire*, *traduire*, together with *cuire* (**cōcēre* for *coquere*), *luire* (**lūcēre* for *-ēre*), and *nuire* (**nōcēre* for *-ēre*), have weak perfects, e. g. *conduisis*, &c., *nuisis*, &c. These forms are of comparatively recent origin and are due to the influence of the weak 2 sing. of the old strong perfects; e. g. in O. F. we have

je *duis* (*dūxi*),tu *duisis* (*duxisti*).je *nui* (*nōcui*),tu *nuisis* (*nocuisti*).

Several of these verbs had weak infinitives in O. F., in accordance with their etymology, e. g. *luisir* (lucére), *nuisir* (nocére).

Ceindre, Plaindre, Joindre, &c.

§ 641. Verbs in *-ndre*, in which the *d* is euphonic, not etymological¹ (see § 364), such as *ceindre* (cingère), *plaindre* (plångère), *joindre* (jüngère), drop the *d* in the pres. ind.² (*ceins*, *ceint*; *plains*, *plaint*; *joins*, *joint*) and all other tenses. These verbs have a strong p.p. *ceint* (cinctum), *plaint* (plano-tum), *joint* (junctum). On their model are conjugated *êteindre* (extinguère), *êtreindre* (stringère), *astreindre* (astringère), *restreindre* (restringère), *contraindre*³ (constringère), *feindre* (fingere), *enfreindre* (infringere), *peindre* (pingere), *plaindre* (plångère), *teindre* (tingère), *atteindre* (attingere), *joindre* (jüngère), with *conjoindre*, *disjoindre*, and *enjoindre*, *oindre* (ungere), *poindre* (pungere), *épreindre*⁴ (exprimère), *empreindre*⁴ (imprimère), *geindre*⁵ (gémère).

PART III.

PARTICLES.

UNDER this head will be studied the four classes of invariable words which have come down to the French from the Latin, viz. Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections.

¹ For instance, the *d* in *rendre* was present in the Lat. **réndere* for *réddere*; the *d* in *ceindre* (cingère) was not.

² Unlike *coudre* (*côsère) and *moudre* (môlère), which retain the euphonic *d* of the inf. in pres: ind. (*couds*, *coud*; *mouds*, *moud*).

³ O. F. *constreindre*.

⁴ Learned forms of these verbs also exist, viz. *exprimer*, *imprimer* (see § 578, n.).

⁵ The learned form *gémir* is also in use (see § 579).

§ 642. Before proceeding to the consideration of these particles we may note two singular facts regarding them—

- i. The addition of final *s* to a large number of invariable words which had no such termination in Latin, e. g. *jadis* (*jamdiu*), *tandis* (*tamdiu*), O. F. *sempres* (*semper*), O. F. *oncques* (*unquam*), &c.

[*Note.*—The explanation of this so-called ‘adverbial *s*’ is as follows:—In popular Latin, and thence in French, certain adverbs were formed from the accusative plural (masculine or feminine) of adjectives, e. g. *voluntarios*: *volontiers*; *certas*: *certes*; *primas*: O. F. *primes*; *longas*: O. F. *longes*, &c. These adverbs consequently terminated in *s*; which letter also characterised the termination of many others derived from Latin adverbs in constant use, such as *foris*: *hors*; *magis*: *mais*; *plus*: *plus*; *minus*: *moins*; *melius*: *mieux*; *pejus*: *pis*, &c. Hence it came about that final *s* was regarded as an adverbial characteristic, and was accordingly appended to many adverbs which had no right to it etymologically.]

- ii. The suppression of final *e* in the two substantives *chez* (*cásam*) and *or* (*ad-hóram*), which ought (§ 23, i.) to have given *chèse* (as *cára* gives *chère*) and *ore* (which latter existed in O. F.; see § 646, iii.).

It is worthy of remark that, with the exception of *guères* and *trop*, all French particles are of Latin origin.

CHAPTER I.

Adverbs.

§ 643. The suffixes *-e*, *-ter*, which marked the adverb in Latin (as in *dócte*, *sáne*, *prudénter*, *simíliter*, &c.), disappeared in French because they were unaccented. In order to mark the adverb in French another suffix was adopted, viz. *-ment*, from the substantive *mens*, *mente*, which under the Empire had come to be used in the sense of ‘manner,’ ‘fashion,’ &c. Thus in Quintilian we find: ‘*bona mente factum*’; in Claudian: ‘*devota mente tuentur*’; similarly, in Gregory of

Tours : '*iniqua mente* concupiscit,' &c. This ablative *mente*, in combination with the *feminine* adjective, produced the French adverbial termination *-ment*; e. g. *bona mente*; *bonne-mente*, *cara mente*: *chère-ment*, *devota mente*: *dévotement*, &c.

§ 644. Now, as we have already seen (§§ 488-490), those Latin adjectives which had one termination for the masculine and another for the feminine (e. g. *bonus*, *bona*), had also two in French (*bon*, *bonne*); while those which had only one termination for the two genders in Latin, had in like manner (originally) only one in French; thus *grandis*, *legalis*, *prudens*, *regalis*, *viridis*, *fortis*, &c., gave *grand*, *loyal*, *prudent*, *royal*, *vert*, *fort*, &c., which in Old French had but one form for both genders. Consequently it happened that French adverbs formed with adjectives of the former class (such as *bon*—*bonne*, *cher*—*chère*, &c.) always had the *e* of the feminine termination (*mente* being feminine), e. g. *bonne-ment*, *chère-ment*, *dévotement*; while those formed with adjectives of the latter class (such as *grand*, *loyal*, &c.) never had the feminine *e*, and accordingly in the thirteenth century we find the etymologically correct forms *grand-ment*, *loyal-ment*, *fort-ment*, &c. In the fourteenth century, however, the reason for this distinction being no longer understood, and it not being obvious why in certain adverbs the adjective was in the feminine, while in others (as it seemed) it was in the masculine, the grammarians, to remedy the apparent anomaly, inserted the feminine *e* in all cases, and wrote *grande-ment*, *loyale-ment*, *forte-ment*, &c., barbarisms opposed both to the history and the logical formation of the words.

[*Note*.—i. Traces of the old adverbial formation remain in French; e. g. in *constamment* (for *constant-ment*) instead of *constante-ment*; *savamment* (for *savant-ment*) instead of *savante-ment*; *prudemment* (for *prudent-ment*) instead of *prudente-ment*; &c. The adverb *lente-ment* is regular, *lent* (*lentus*) being an adjective of two terminations and having a fem. *lente* (*lenta*). On the other hand, the adverbs *opulemment*, *violemment*, from *opulent*, *-ente* (*opulentus*, *-enta*), *violent*,

-ente (*violentus*, *-enta*) are irregular, having been formed on the false analogy of adverbs in *-amment*, *-emment*.—ii. The adverbs *aveuglément*, *commodément*, *conformément*, *opiniâtrément*, in which the adjective is apparently in the masculine, are in reality formed, not from the corresponding adjectives, *aveugle*, *commode*, *conforme*, *opiniâtre*, but from the feminine past participles, *aveuglée*, (*ac*)*commodée*, *conformée*, *opiniâtrée*; the final *e* of the feminine in these adverbs has been lost (through contraction), just as it has been in *joliment*, *gaîment*, *dûment*, &c. (for *jolie-*, *gaie-*, *due-ment*). On the analogy of these adverbs in *-ément* were formed others, e.g. *énormément*, *uniformément* on the analogy of *conformément*, and *immensément* on that of *sensément*.—iii. The adverbs *confusément*, *diffusément*, *expressément* (from *confus*, *-use*, *diffus*, *-use*, *exprès*, *-esse*) owe their form to the influence of the Latin adverbs in *ē*, *confuse*, *diffuse*, *expresse*.]

Adverbs of Place.

§ 645. The chief adverbs of place in French are

- i. *Ailleurs* (*aliórsum*).
- ii. *Autour* (i. e. *à l'entour*, as it was formerly written).
- iii. *Amont* (*ad-montem*), i. e. towards the mountain, 'up-stream,' hence simply 'up.'
- iv. *Aval* (*ad-vallem*), i. e. towards the valley, 'down-stream,' hence 'down.'

[*Note*.—The verb *avalier* meant originally 'to go down-stream,' hence 'to descend'; thus in the *Chanson de Roland* we find:—

'Si cum il pout del pin est avalet.'

The restriction of sense to that of swallowing down food is of later date. A trace of the original meaning survives in the phrase '*avalier le fleuve*,' of boats going down-stream; and in the word *avalanche*, i. e. a mass of snow or ice which descends towards the valley.]

- v. *Ça* (*ecce-hac*) and *là* (*illac*), whence the compounds *delà*, *delà*; also
- vi. *Céans*, O. F. *çaens* (i. e. *ça-enz* = *ecce-hac-intus*), and

- vii. *Léans* (now obsolete), O. F. *laiens* (i. e. *la-enz* = *illac-intus*).
 - viii. *Dans*, O. F. *dens* (*de-intus*), and the compound *dedans*.
 - ix. *Dedans* (*de-de-intus*).
 - x. *Dehors* (*de-foris*) (see § 659 *n.*).
 - xi. *Dont* (*de-unde*) (see § 525).
 - xii. *En*, O. F. *ent* (*inde*) (see § 509).
 - xiii. *Ici* (*ecce-hic*), and the shortened form *ci*, which occurs in the formula '*ci-git*,' and in the compounds *voici*, *celui-ci*, *ci-devant*, &c.
 - xiv. *Loin*, O. F. *loing* (*longe*).
 - xv. *Où*, O. F. *o* (*ubi*) (see §§ 59, *note iv.*; 262, *ii. n.*).
 - xvi. *Partout* (*per-totum*).
 - xvii. *Y*, O. F. *i* (*ibi*) (see § 510).
- [For *avant*, *devant*, *derrière*, *dessous*, *dessus*, see §§ 657, 658.]
- xviii. To the above must be added adverbial phrases, such as *nulle part*, *là-haut*, *là-bas*, *jusque-là*, *en avant*, *en dedans*, &c. ; and also *environ*, which is compounded of *en* and *viron*, from *virer*, to *veer*, turn round ; *viron*, which existed in O. F., still survives in the word *aviron*, an oar, i. e. the instrument with which one *veers*.

Adverbs of Time.

- § 646. The most important adverbs of time in French are
- i. *À présent* (*ad-praesentem*)—an expression which met with the disapproval of the grammarians of the seventeenth century. Vaugelas says: '*On dit à cette heure, maintenant, présentement, et non pas à présent, qui n'est pas une façon de parler à la cour.*' Its usage, however, has survived.
 - ii. *Maintenant*, which is properly the present participle of

maintenir, to hold in the hand; it formerly meant 'instantly,' but it is found as early as the fourteenth century in its present sense.

- iii. *Or*, shortened form of O. F. *ore* (ad-horam, whence *aora). In O. F. there was also a plural form *ores* (ad-horas); this likewise lost its *e*, becoming *ors*, which survives in *lors* and *alors*.
- iv. *Hui* (*hodie*), now obsolete except in the legal phrase 'd'hui en un an,' and in the word *aujourd'hui*, i. e. *au jour d'hui*, a pleonasm, the literal meaning being 'on the day of to-day.'
- v. *Hier* (*heri*), which in O. F. was sometimes used loosely in the sense of 'formerly'; its compound *autrier*, 'the other day,' now obsolete, was in use down to the sixteenth century.
- vi. *Demain* (de-mane), literally 'in the morning (of the next day).' In O. F. the simple word *main* (mane) was in common use: 'du *main* au soir'; it survives also in *lendemain* (see § 283, n. ii.).
- vii. *Jadis* (jamdiu) (see § 642, i. n.).
- viii. *Auparavant*, formerly *par avant* simply, without the article, which was added in the fifteenth century. Froissart writes: 'Je ne voulus point être ingrat quand je considérai la bonté qu'il me montra *par avant*.'
- ix. *Déjà* (de-jam); *jà* simply was used as late as the seventeenth century (e. g. La Fontaine says: 'je l'ai *jà* dit.')
- x. *Fois* (vice) occurs in the compounds *autrefois*, *parfois*, *quelquefois*, *toutefois*.
- xi. *Désormais*, O. F. *des ore mais* (de-ex-hora-magis), literally 'from this hour further,' i. e. henceforth.
- xii. *Dorénavant*, O. F. *d'ore en avant*, literally 'from this hour forwards,' i. e. for the future.

- xiii. *Naguères*, O. F. *n'a guères*, compounded of *avoir* with the negative and *guères* (see § 649, viii.). The latter originally meant 'much,' e. g. in the *Chanson de Roland*:—

'Li quenz Rollanz ne li est *guaires* loign.'

The expression *n'a guères* means literally then, 'there is not much'; *naguères* is now used with reference to time only, and hence has the meaning of 'not long ago,' e. g. 'je l'ai vu *naguères*,' 'I saw him just now.' In the O. F. phrase the verb was variable; thus they could say: 'La ville était assiégée, *n'avait guères*, quand elle se rendit,' i. e. the town had not long been besieged before it surrendered.

- xiv. *Longtemps*, i. e. *long temps*, 'a long while.'
- xv. *Toujours*, i. e. *tous jours*, as it used to be written, 'every day,' hence 'always'; for the former the French now say *tous les jours*; in O. F. the expression was *tous dis* (*totos dies*). The O. F. *sempres* (*semper* + *s*; see § 642, i.) disappeared in the fifteenth century.
- xvi. *Jamais*, i. e. *jà mais* (*jam magis*), originally, as its literal meaning ('now more') shows, had no intrinsically negative sense; its present signification of 'never' is due to its being constantly associated with a negative; a trace of the original positive sense survives in the phrase *à jamais*, 'for ever.' In O. F. the component parts of the word were separable, e. g.

'*Ja non podra mais* deu laudier' (*St. Leger*).

- xvii. *Souvent* (*subinde*) (see § 509).
- xviii. *Quand* (*quándo*).
- xix. *Tôt*, O. F. *tost*, 'quickly,' hence 'soon,' supposed to be derived from *tostum*, 'burnt up,' in allusion to the quickness of flame. In combination with *aussi*, *bien*, *plus*, *tant*, it forms the compound adverbs *aussi-tôt*, *bien-tôt*, *plus-tôt*, *tant-tôt*.

xx. *Tard* (*tardum*), 'slowly,' hence 'late.'

xxi. *Encore*, O. F. *uncore*, either from *hanc horam*, or *hinc ad horam*. Its original meaning was 'at this hour,' as appears from such a sentence as: 'J'ai vu Paris, et j'y retournerai *encore*, quand je reviendrai en France,' i. e. I shall return thither *at that hour* when I revisit France. Its actual meaning of 'still,' 'yet,' dates back as far as the eleventh century.

xxii. *Tandis* (*tam diu*) (see § 642, i.); this word formerly signified 'during this time.' In the thirteenth century it was employed as follows:—Le chasseur s'apprête à tirer, bande son arc; mais la corde se rompt, et *tandis* le lièvre s'enfuit.' It was used in this way as late as Corneille, who writes:—

'Et *tandis*, il m'envoie

Faire office vers vous de douleur et de joie.'

(*Horace*, iv. 8.)

Vaugelas and Voltaire, not knowing the historical justification of the phrase, blamed this usage as incorrect; whereas it is really perfectly correct.

xxiii. *Lors*, *alors*, compounds of the article with *or*, *ors* (see § 646, iii.).

xxiv. *Ensuite*, i. e. *en suite*, 'in the sequel,' hence 'then,' 'afterwards.'

xxv. *Enfin*, i. e. *en fin*, 'in the end,' hence 'at last.'

xxvi. *Puis* (*post*), *depuis* (*de-post*), both used also as prepositions (see § 657).

xxvii. *Donc*, O. F. *donques*, from popular Latin **dumque*, the modern form having perhaps been influenced by *tunc*.

xxviii. With the above adverbs of time may also be classed a number of adverbial phrases, such as *tout à coup*, *d'ordinaire*, *de bonne heure*, *l'autre jour*, &c.

Adverbs of Manner.

§ 647. The majority of French adverbs of manner are formed from adjectives by the addition of the termination *-ment*, which has been explained above (§§ 643-4). In one or two instances this suffix has been appended even to adverbs, e. g. *comment* (*cum-mente*), *quasiment* (*quasi-mente*).

§ 648. Under this head must be included a whole class of adjectives used adverbially, e. g. *bon*, *clair*, *court*, *droit*, *faux*, *fort*, *haut*, *juste*, *vile*, *vrai*, &c., in such phrases as 'sentir *bon*,' 'voir *clair*,' 'couper *court*,' 'aller *droit*,' 'chanter *faux*,' 'courir *fort*,' 'parler *haut*,' 'voir *juste*,' 'marcher *vite*,' 'dire *vrai*,' &c. To this class also properly belong *volontiers*, *certes*, &c., which are really adverbial adjectives (see § 642, i. n.). This usage was far more common in O. F. than it is now; for instance, in the thirteenth century they said 'aller *lent*,' 'agir *laid*,' 'aimer *grand*,' 'faire *seul*,' &c., instead of, as now, 'aller *lentement*,' 'agir *laidement*,' 'aimer *grandement*,' 'faire *seulement*,' &c.

Adverbs of Intensity.

§ 649. These are as follows:—

- i. *Assez* (*ad-satis*), which originally meant 'much.' In O. F. it was used with or without the preposition *de* which always accompanies it in modern French; thus in the *Chanson de Roland*¹ we find both

'Asez i ad de la gent paienur'

and

'Asez i ad evesques e abez.'

Such expressions as *trop assez*, 'too much by far,' *plus assez*, 'much more,' &c., are frequent in O. F. *Assai* in Italian has the same meaning as O. F. *assez*, e. g. *presto assai*, 'very quick' (not 'quick enough').

¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, v. 31, 231.

ii. *Beaucoup*, i. e. *beau coup*, literally 'a fine stroke,' occurs first towards the end of the thirteenth century; a more common phrase was *grand coup*; but the word most frequently used was *moult* (*multum*), which is now obsolete. La Bruyère regretted its disuse, and coupled it with *maint* (§ 529) as being worth preserving. The word *coup*, O. F. *colp*, comes from **colpus* (for *colaphus*), meaning 'a blow,' 'box on the ear'; the popular Latin word occurs in the *Lex Salica* (xvii. 1):—

'Si quis alterum voluerit occidere, et *colpus* praeter fallierit, et ei fuerit adprobatum, 2000 dinarios . . . culpabilis iudicetur.'

iii. *Bien* (*béne*), *mal* (*mále*); used also in composition, e. g. *bienséant*, *bienveillant*, *malséant*, *malveillant*, &c.

iv. *Combien*, i. e. *comme* (O. F. *com*) *bien*, is found as early as the eleventh century. Down to the seventeenth century *combien que* was used as a conjunction in the sense of 'although.'

v. *Comment*, i. e. *comme-ment* (see § 647).

vi. *Davantage*, i. e. *d'avantage*, as it was written as late as the sixteenth century.

vii. *Ensemble* (*in-simul*) (see § 295, iv.).

viii. *Guère* and *guères* (O. F. *gaires*, *guaires*) from O. H. G. *weigaro* (which is preserved in M. H. G. *unweiger*, 'not much'). The form *guères*, to which has been appended the so-called adverbial *s* (see § 642, i. n.), is chiefly used in poetry. (Cf. *naguères*, § 646, xiii.).

ix. *Mieux*, O. F. *miels* (*mélius*) (see § 51, ii. n. ii; and § 494).

x. *Moins* (*minus*) (see § 42, n. i; and § 494).

xi. *Peu*, O. F. *pou* (*paucum*); formerly *petit*, and *un petit* were used adverbially as a synonym of *peu*, a usage which survives in the familiar phrase 'un petit peu.'

- xii. *Pis* (**péjus**) (see § 51, i; and § 494).
- xiii. *Presque*, i. e. *près* (**préssum**) *que*.
- xiv. *Si* (**sic**); with its compounds *ainsi*, O. F. *issi* (of doubtful origin), and *aussi*, O. F. *alsi* (**aliud-sic**), for which in O. F. *altresi* (**alterum-sic**) was more commonly used.
- xv. *Tant* (**tantum**); with its compounds:—*autant*, O. F. *altant* (**aliud-tantum**); *pourtant*, i. e. *pour tant*, which now is a synonym of *néanmoins*, ‘nevertheless,’ but formerly signified ‘for this reason’—thus Montaigne, speaking of a soldier who never gave quarter to a foe, says: ‘*Pour tant* il ne combattoit que de masse,’ i. e. for that reason he fought only with a mace; *partant* (**per-tantum**), ‘therefore,’ ‘consequently,’ as in La Fontaine:—

‘Les tourterelles se fuyaient.

Plus d’amour, *partant* plus de joie.’

In O. F. we find also *altretant*, *autretant* (**alterum-tantum**), which was used for the most part instead of *allant*, *aulant*; and *atant* (**ad-tantum**), ‘then,’ which is found as late as the seventeenth century.

- xvi. *Tellement* (**tali-mente**) (see § 643).
- xvii. *Trop* (supposed to be derived from low Latin *troppum*, ‘troop,’ ‘multitude’) originally meant ‘much,’ in which sense it is found as late as the middle of the sixteenth century; it occurs as early as the *Chanson de Roland* in its actual meaning of ‘too much.’

Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation.

650. In O. F. affirmation was expressed for the most part by means of the two words *si* and *oïl*.

- i. Of these *si* is the Lat. **sic** (§ 649, xiv.), which furnished the sign of affirmation in Italian (*si*, whence Dante

speaks of the Italian language as 'la lingua di *si*'¹), Spanish (*si*, O. Sp. *sin*), Portuguese (*sim*), and Provençal (*si*). Its use in modern French is confined to a more or less emphatic contradiction of a previous negative statement, e. g. 'Il n'y était pas.'—'Mais *si*, il y était.' In this sense it is also used in the phrases *si fait, que si*.

- ii. *Oïl*, the modern *oui*, became the general sign of affirmation in French, which hence got its name of 'Langue d'oïl' in opposition to the 'Langue d'oc' or Provençal². This word *oui*, O. F. *oïl*, is composed of the demonstrative pronoun *o* (hoc) and the personal pronoun *il* (ille). Originally *o* (i. e. this, that is it) was used alone in the sense of 'yes'; e. g. in *Raoul de Cambrai* (twelfth century) we find: 'ne dit ne *o* ne non,' i. e. he says neither yes nor no,—a phrase which constantly recurs in mediaeval texts. More frequently, however, instead of being used absolutely, *o* was joined with the personal pronoun; for instance, in reply to the questions 'viens-tu?' 'vient-il?' the affirmative answers would be '*o je* (viens),' '*o il* (vient).' Thus in the *Chanson d'Aiol* (early thirteenth century) we find:—

'Avés vous relenqui Mahomet, bele fille?—

Oie, che dist la dame, por amor Dieu, biaux sire.'

(vv. 9672-3.)

i. e. 'have you abandoned Mahomet, my daughter? yes I have (*oui, je* [l'ai fait]), for the love of God, sir.' Similarly in the *Chanson de Roland* (eleventh century):—

'L'aveirs Carlun est il apareilliez?—

E cil respunt: *Oïl*, sire, asez bien.' (vv. 643-4.)

¹ *Vita Nuova*, § 25; cf. *Inf.* xxxiii. 80; *Vulg. Eloq.* i. 8. 9, 10.

² Thus Dante distinguishes Provençal (or, as he calls it, Spanish) French, and Italian by their respective signs of affirmation: 'Alīi oc, alīi oīl, alīi sī, affirmando loquuntur; ut puta Hispani, Franci et Latini' (*Vulg. Eloq.* i. 8).

i. e. 'is Charles' gift got ready? he answers, yes it is (*oui, il* [*l'est*]) quite ready.'

In the same way *o ele, o nous, o vous*, were used.

At a very early date, however, the special significance of the pronominal adjunct was lost, and *oil*, the form which was in most frequent use, ended by supplanting the other forms, and came to be employed as the general sign of affirmation, without regard to its etymology.

- iii. To this O. F. *oil* corresponded the negative O. F. *nenni* (*nen il*), mod. *nenni*, which was formed in exactly the same way with *nen* (*non*) and *il* (*ille*). *Nenni* was employed down to the seventeenth century, after which it was restricted to colloquial usage.

[*Note*.—It was long supposed that *oil* and *nenni* were formed from *hoo-illud* and *non-illud*. The evidence of the O. F. texts is decisive in favour of the etymology given above.]

§ 651. The sign of negation in French is derived from Lat. *non*, which has given rise to three distinct forms, viz. *non*, *nen*, and *ne*.

- i. *Non* in the earliest stages of the French language was used where *ne* would now be used, e. g. in the Strassburg Oaths¹ we find: 'si io retornar *non* l'int pois,' i. e. 'si je *ne* l'en puis détourner;,' and in the Cantilena of St. Eulalia¹: 'Niule cose *non* la pouret omque pleier,' i. e. 'aucune chose *ne* la pourrait jamais plier.'
- ii. *Nen* (O. F.), which is a weakened form of *non*, survives in *nenni* (see § 650, iii.). It was in very common use in O. F., but does not occur in the earliest monuments of the language.
- iii. *Ne*, which again is a weakened form of *nen*, is also very

¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, i. 10; ii. 9.

frequently met with in O. F. Formerly it entered into combination with the article or personal pronouns; such forms as *nel* (*ne le*), *nem* (*ne me*), *nes* (*ne les*) are common in O. F.

§ 652. In addition to the simple negative particles mentioned above there are numerous adverbial phrases employed to express negation in French. In order to add force to a statement it is a common and almost instinctive practice with us to introduce a comparison (e. g. 'as poor as Job,' 'as strong as a lion,' 'as fierce as a tiger,' &c.), or a standard of value (e. g. 'not worth a farthing', 'not a penny the wiser,' &c.), or some such artifice. Similar expressions were made use of in Latin; thus we find '*non fli* facere' ('not to care a thread for'), '*unius assis* aestimare' ('not to value a farthing'), '*pluma* haud interest' ('it does not matter a pin'), '*ne hilum*' ('not a speck'). From this last phrase *ne hilum* is derived the negative *nihilum*, whence *nihil*, the literal meaning being 'not the tiny speck in a bean.' The original expression occurs several times in Lucretius: e. g.

'*Neo* defit ponderis *hilum*.' (iii. 220.)

'Nil igitur mors est, ad nos *neque* pertinet *hilum*.'

(iii. 830.)²

§ 653. The negative expressions most commonly used in French are as follows:—

- i. *Ne* . . . *pas* (*passum*), 'not a step; ' originally, in the literal sense, '*ne point faire un pas*,' hence '*ne pas aller*,' as a simply negative.
- ii. *Ne* . . . *point* (*punctum*), 'not a point,' as in '*je ne vois point*.'
- iii. *Ne* . . . *mie* (*mica*), 'not a crumb,' as in '*je ne mange*

¹ Cf. the O. F. phrases, *valisant un festu*, 'the value of a straw; ' *ne priser un festu*, 'not to care a straw about.'

² Cf. also iii. 514, 518, 783, 867; iv. 379, 515; v. 358, 1409; &c.

mie ;' common in O. F., but obsolete since the end of the sixteenth century. Martial uses *mica* in much the same way: '*nullaque mica salis*' (vii. 25).

- iv. *Ne . . . goutte* (*gutta*), 'not a drop,' as in '*ne boire goutte*.' This phrase, which was formerly in general use (e. g. '*ne craindre goutte*,' '*n'aimer goutte*') has been restricted since the seventeenth century to the two verbs *voir* and *entendre*:—'*n'y voir goutte*,' '*n'y entendre goutte*.'

Gutta was used in Latin much as *goutte* is used in French; e. g. Plautus writes:—

'*Neque parata gutta certi consilii* ;'

and Lucretius:

'*Hinc illaec primum Veneris dulcedinis in cor
Stillavit gutta*.'

(iv. 1059-60.)

- v. *Ne . . . personne* (*persona*), 'not a person,' 'no one'; from being constantly associated with negative phrases *personne*, like *rien*, *aucun*, *jamais*, &c. has come to have a negative sense in itself. Although it represents a Latin feminine, *personne* is masculine in French; it is only used in the singular.
- vi. *Ne . . . rien* (*rem*), 'not a thing,' 'nothing.' *Rien*, as its origin shows, is in reality a substantive, without any negative signification, and was used as such in O. F. in its proper meaning of 'thing' (a sense in which it has been replaced in mod. French by *chose*). In the *Roman de Lancelot du Lac*¹, Guenever adjures Lancelot by the thing he loves best in the world—'*la rien* que vos plus amez ;' in *Aucassin et Nicolette*¹, Aucassin speaks of Nicolette as '*le riens*² en tot le mont que je plus amoie ;' and in *Perceval*¹, the poet

¹ See Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French*, xxxiv. 175; xxxi. 117; xxvi. 5.

² See § 468.

Chrestien de Troyes, describing a spring morning, says:—

‘Et tote *riens*¹ de joie flame’ (v. 1287),

i. e. everything is aglow with joy. Joined with a negative, *rien* signifies ‘nothing’ (just as *ne . . . personne* signifies ‘no one’):—e. g. ‘je *ne* fais *rien*,’ i. e. I am doing nothing; ‘il *ne* m’a *rien* donné,’ i. e. he has given me nothing; &c. From being continually employed in this way in negative phrases *rien* at last (like *personne*, &c.—see § 653, v.) acquired by itself a negative meaning, as in such expressions as, ‘on m’a donné cela pour *rien*;’ ‘que faites-vous ? *rien*;’ &c.

The history of the word *rien* furnishes the explanation of its use both negatively and positively in the same line by Molière:—

‘Dans le siècle où nous sommes

On ne donne *rien* pour *rien*.’

(*École des Femmes*, iii. 2.)

CHAPTER II.

Prepositions.

§ 654. The Latin prepositions have for the most part been preserved in French; some, however, such as *ab*, *cis*, *ex*, *erga*, *ob*, *prae*, *propter*, together with a few of less importance, have disappeared. Such new prepositions as have been found in French are either compounds, such as *envers* (*in-versus*), *parmi* (*per-medium*), &c.; or substantives, such as *chez* (*casam*), *lez* (*latus*); or present and past participles, such as *pendant*, *suivant*, *attendu*, *excepté*, &c.

§ 655. French prepositions may be divided into eight classes according to their formation.—i. Prepositions which

¹ See § 468.

already existed in Latin. ii. Those which are formed from two or more Latin prepositions. iii. Those formed from Latin prepositions in combination with adverbs, pronouns, or adjectives. iv. Those formed from participles. v. Those formed from substantives. vi. Those formed from adjectives and adverbs. vii. Those compounded with the article and a preposition used substantivally. viii. Those compounded with substantives or adjectives preceded by the article.

Prepositions which existed in Latin.

§ 656. These are eleven in number :—à (ad), contre (contra), de (de), en (in), entre (inter), outre (ultra), par¹ (per), pour² (pro), sans³ (sine), sur, O. F. sour⁴ (super), vers (versus). To which may be added fors (foris), près (pressum), and sous (subtus), which come from Latin adverbs used as prepositions.

Prepositions formed from more than one Latin preposition.

§ 657. These are :—avant (ab-ante), devant (de-ab-ante), depuis (de-post), devers (de-versus), envers (in-versus).

[*Note*.—i. A curious illustration of the use of the word **abante**, which is not rare in inscriptions, is afforded by the old Roman Grammarian Placidus, who strongly condemned it and warned his readers against it :—‘**Ante** me fugit, dicimus, non, **abante** me fugit; nam praepositio praepositioni adiungitur imprudenter; quia **ante** et **ab** sunt duae praepositiones.’ (*Placidi Glossae*, in Mai, iii. 431.)—ii. *Puis* (post) is no longer used as a preposition in French; in O. F. it was commonly so used, e.g. we find in the *Life of St. Alexis*⁵ (eleventh century) such expressions as : ‘*puis icel tens*’ (after that time), ‘*puis mon deces*’ (after my death), &c. It was displaced by *depuis* towards the sixteenth century.]

¹ See § 49, note.

² See § 59, note iv.

³ See § 89, note ii.

⁴ The O. F. form survives in *sour-cil* (super-cilium).

⁵ See *Specimens of Old French*, iv. 11, 145.

Prepositions formed from Latin Prepositions in combination with Adverbs, &c.

§ 658. Under this head we have :—

- i. *Arrière* (ad-retro), and *derrière* (de-retro), compounds of which the simple form *rière* (retro) was used as a preposition in O. F. ; it is still preserved in certain place-names, e. g. *Rière-les-Chênes*, *Rière-Mesnois*.
- ii. *Après* (ad-pressum), which occurs at a very early date both as preposition and adverb.
- iii. *Dans* (de-intus), a word, which, though now very common, is only of comparatively recent origin. It was not till the latter half of the sixteenth century that it came into frequent use ; it now tends to supplant *en*.
- iv. *Deçà*, i. e. *de çà* (de-ecce-hac) (see § 520, n.), and *delà*, i. e. *de là* (de-illac).
- v. *Dessous* (de-subtus), now used more as an adverb than a preposition, but formerly in common use in both capacities. It occurs as preposition in the *Chanson de Roland* :—‘*desuz dous arbres.*’ In the seventeenth century an attempt was made to restrict its use to that of an adverb only.
- vi. *Dessus* (de-*susum), also now more commonly employed as adverb, its use as preposition (in which capacity it has been supplanted by *sur*) being comparatively rare. The simple *sus*, which survives in such phrases as ‘*courir sus*,’ ‘*en sus*,’ ‘*en sus de*,’ &c. comes from *susum*, which in late Latin (e. g. in Plautus, Cato, &c.) was often used instead of *sursum*. St. Augustine writes : ‘*Jusum vis facere Deum, et te susum,*’ i. e. you wish to abase God, and to exalt yourself.

[*Note.*—Littre remarks that, though the *Académie française* classes *sus* as a preposition, there is no example of its use as such. It was certainly, however, so used in O. F. in the sense of *contre*, e. g. in

*Aymeri de Narbonne*¹ (thirteenth century) we find: 'Car *sus* Marsile asenbla s'ost banie,' i.e. he assembled his host against M.; and in Marco Po'lo¹: 'Ne savoies tu que je venoie *sus* toy a si grant ost pour toi desheriter?']

vii. *Avec*, O. F. *avoec* (**ab-hoc**), is found as early as the eleventh century. The form *avecques*, i.e. *avec* + adverbial *s* (see § 642, i. n.), which was often used in O. F., is still occasionally found in poetry.

viii. *Dès* (**de-ipso**), used both as preposition and adverb at an early date.

ix. *Parmi*, i.e. *par mi* (**per-medium**), literally 'through the midst of,' as in the *Roman du Renard*:—

'*Parmi* le bois s'en vet hulant';

and in *Aliscans*²:—

'*Parmi* ses plaies voit ses boiaus issir.'

x. *Selon*, O. F. *solonc*, *selonc* (**sublongum**) (see § 65, ii. n.), in use as early as the eleventh century.

Prepositions formed from participles.

659. Both present and past participles are in certain cases used as prepositions; of the former class the most important are: *durant*, *pendant*, *suivant*, *touchant*, *moyennant*, *nonobstant*, *joignant*; of the latter: *attendu*, *excepté*, *supposé*, *hormis*, *vu*.

[*Note*.—In O. F. the participle was often placed before the substantive to which it referred, in phrases which answered to the Latin ablative absolute; e.g. 'l'esclave fut jeté au feu, *voyant le roi*,' i.e. in the king's sight (**vidente rege**); 'une des parties vient à mourir *pendant le procès*,' i.e. pending the trial (**pendente lite**); similarly with the past participle, e.g. 'il fut exempté de sa charge, *attendu son infirmité*;' 'vu les raisons de part et d'autre;' 'excepté une femme,'

¹ See *Specimens of Old French*, xli. 28; lvii. 28.

² Both of the twelfth century; see *Specimens of Old French*, xiii. 318; xiv. 20.

(but 'une femme *exceptée*'); &c. In O. F. *hors mis* (*foris-missum*), whence *hormis*, the participle *mis* was declinable. In the thirteenth century they said, 'Cet homme a perdu tous ses enfants, hors *mise* sa fille.' In the fifteenth century the participle *mis* became inseparably joined to the particle *hors*, and the phrase *hors-mis*, later *hormis*, became simply a preposition. Originally all these words were variable, but when the primitive construction was forgotten and the reason of the inverted order was no longer understood, the participles came to be regarded as prepositions, and were treated as invariable accordingly.]

Prepositions formed from substantives.

660. These are six in number :—

- i. *Chez* (*casam*), 'at the house of;' originally used with a preposition: 'je vais *à chez* Gautier' (*ad casam Walterii*); similarly, 'je viens *de chez* Gautier;' in the former case the use of the preposition has been discontinued, *chez* being itself used as a preposition: 'je vais *chez* Gautier;' the phrase *de chez* still survives, and testifies to the fact that *chez* is in reality a substantive.
- ii. *Lez* (*latus*), 'by the side of;' in low Latin *latus* was used in the sense of *juxta*, 'near,' e.g. 'Plexitium *latus* Turonem,' i.e. Plessis-*lez*-Tours (Plessis near Tours) (see § 241). In O. F. *lez* was a substantive; thus Villehardouin (thirteenth century) speaks of two persons 'seant ambedui *lez à lez* en dui chaires, i.e. sitting side by side.
- iii. *Faute* (*fallita*) is simply the substantive, the construction being with *de*, 'for want of;' e.g. '*faute d'*attention' il s'est laissé égarer.'
- iv. *Vis-à-vis*, 'face to face,' hence 'opposite'; *vis* (*visum*) in O. F. was used in the sense of the modern *visage*, 'countenance.'

[*Note*.—The use of *vis-à-vis* in the sense of 'with regard to' was

introduced into French by J. J. Rousseau, in spite of the protests of Voltaire, who remarked ironically: 'le roi n'est plus endetté *envers* le public, mais *vis-à-vis* le public.' (Littré.)]

- v. *Malgré*, i. e. *mal gré* (*malum gratum*), 'in spite of,' thus '*malgré lui*' is equivalent to 'au *mauvais gré* de lui.' The original meaning survives in the phrase, '*malgré* qu'il en ait.'
- vi. *Hors* (*foris*), literally 'outside,' hence 'except' (see § 272, *n.*); compounds of *hors* are *dehors*, and *hormis* (see § 659, *n.*), the latter of which has to a great extent taken the place of *hors*.
- vii. To the above must be added such prepositional phrases as *à cause de*, *à côté de*, *en dépit de*, *en face de*, &c.

Prepositions formed from adjectives and adverbs.

§ 661. Of these we may mention :—

- i. *Rez* (*rasum*), literally 'cut close,' being originally the past participle of O. F. *rère* (*radere*), 'to shave.' *Rez*, which is the same as *ras*, was used in O. F. as an adjective, and thence as a preposition in such phrases as '*rez* pied,' '*rez* terre,' '*rez* tronc,' in the sense of 'close to;' so '*rez-de-chaussée*,' 'the ground-floor,' is the floor of a house which is close to, on a level with, the footpath.
- ii. *Sauf* (*salvum*), 'save,' 'except'; like the participles spoken of above (§ 659, *n.*), *sauf* originally was variable, e. g. Philippe de Commines writes:—'Il rendit la place au duc de Lorraine, *saufz* leurs personnes et biens' (v. 5); but the adjectival force of the word by degrees was lost, and finally, as in the other instances, it came to be treated as invariable.
- iii. *Jusque* (*de-usque*) (see § 234, i. *a*); with the addition of adverbial *s* (see § 642, i. *n.*) we get the form *jusques*,

which is used in poetry and occasionally (for the sake of euphony) in prose.

- iv. *Voici, voilà*, i.e. *vois-ci, vois-là*, 'see here,' 'see yonder;' these words, which are compounded of the 2 sing. imperative of *voir* (in O. F., *voi*) and the adverbs *ci* and *là*, were originally separable; e.g. in O. F. one could say '*voi me là*,' instead of '*me voilà*;' and as late as the sixteenth century we find (in Rabelais) '*voy me ci prêt*' for '*me voici prêt*.' In O. F. too the verb was used in the plural when more than one person was referred to, as '*Reveillez vous, Piccars, . . . Car veez cy le printemps*'¹.

The *Académie française*, however, not bearing in mind the origin of these expressions, decreed in 1660 that *voici* and *voilà* were prepositions and for the future inseparable as such.

Prepositions compounded with the article and a preposition used substantivally.

§ 662. Of these the most important are:—*au dedans, au dehors, au delà, au-dessous, au-dessus, auprès, au-devant, au travers*, all of which are followed by the preposition *de*; e.g. '*au dehors de la maison*.'

[*Note*.—The *Académie française* writes *au-dessous, au-dessus, au-devant*, with a hyphen, but, quite arbitrarily, writes *au dedans, au dehors, au delà*, without.]

Prepositions compounded with substantives or adjectives preceded by the article.

§ 663. These, like the preceding, are followed by *de*; examples are *au lieu, au milieu, au moyen, le long, autour, au bas, du haut*, &c.

¹ From a fifteenth century song; see *Specimens of Old French*, lxxxii. A.

CHAPTER III.

Conjunctions.

§ 664. French conjunctions may be divided into two classes, viz. i. those which have come direct from the Latin; ii. those which are of French formation, with which must be included conjunctival phrases.

§ 665. The following are derived from Latin conjunctions:—*et*, O. F. *e* (*et*); *ni*, O. F. *ne* (*nec*); *ou*, O. F. *o* (*aut*); *que*, O. F. *qued* (*quid*, *quod*); *quand* (*quando*); *si*, O. F. *se* (*si*).

[*Note*.—i. According to Littré, *ni* occurs for the first time in Froissart (end of the fourteenth century); an example, however, unless it be a mistake of the copyist, occurs in the previous century in the *Évangile aux Femmes* of Marie de Compiègne. As late as Molière we find ‘*ne plus ne moins*.’—ii. *Si* with *non* forms the compound *si-non*; in O. F. the two particles were separable, e.g. ‘*Je verrai si lui-même non, au moins son frère*.’]

§ 666. The following come from Latin adverbs:—*car*, O. F. *quer* (*quare*); *comme*, O. F. *com* (*quomodo*); *mais* (*magis*); to which may be added *donc*, O. F. *donques* (**dumque*) (see § 646, xxvii.), and *or* (*ad-horam*) (see § 646, iii.).

[*Note*.—i. In O. F. *car* retained its original sense of ‘why’; thus in the thirteenth century one could say, ‘*Je ne sais ne car ne comment*,’ i. e. I know not why nor how.—ii. The original sense of *mais*, ‘more,’ is preserved in the phrase ‘*n’en pouvoir mais*,’ i. e. to be no more able, and the adverb *désormais* (see § 646, xi.).—iii. *Or* in O. F. meant ‘now,’ e.g. ‘*or, dites moi*.’]

§ 667. The following conjunctions are of French formation:—*ainsi*, O. F. *issi* (of uncertain origin); *aussi*, O. F. *alsi* (*aliud-sic*); *cependant*, i. e. *ce pendant*, *pendant cela*; *encore* (see § 646, xxi.); *néanmoins*, O. F. *néant-moins*; *plûtôt*, i. e. *plus tôt* (see § 646, xix.); *lorsque*, i. e. *lors que* (see § 646, xxiii.);

puisque, i. e. *puis que* (see § 657, n. ii.); *quoique*, i. e. *quoi que* (see § 523); *toutefois*, i. e. *toute fois*, O. F. *toutesfois* (total vices).

[*Note*.—i. *Néanmoins* comes from *néant* (**nec-entem*), ‘nothing,’ and *moins* (*minus*), ‘less’; hence it signifies ‘nothing the less,’ ‘none the less,’ e. g. ‘il est fort jeune, et *néanmoins* sérieux,’ i. e. he is none the less serious for being very young. The word *néant* is used in the sense of ‘nothing’ by La Fontaine :—

‘J’ai maints chapitres vus
Qui pour *néant* se sont ainsi tenus.’

(*Fables*, ii. 2.)

ii. *Lorsque* may still sometimes be broken up into two words, as ‘*lors même que*,’ ‘*lors donc que*,’ &c.]

§ 668. Conjunctional phrases in French are formed by the combination of the simple conjunction *que*

- i. with prepositions, such as *avant que*, *après que*, *depuis que*, *dès que*, *jusqu’à ce que*, *pour que*, *sans que*, &c.
- ii. with adverbs, such as *alors que*, *aussitôt que*, *bien que*, *afin que*, *tandis que*, *tant que*, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

Interjections.

§ 669. If we set aside such exclamations as *paix! courage! ferme!* &c. which are rather elliptical sentences (for ‘*faites paix*,’ ‘*ayez courage*,’ ‘*tenez ferme*,’ &c.) than interjections properly so called, there will remain but little to be said on this subject; for real interjections are fundamentally common to the speech of all nations, being in reality not *words* but *cries* (e. g. *oh! ah! bah! hé! ha! ho! fi!* &c.), in that they do not express ideas.

Two alone, *hélas* and *dame*, have any real philological interest as far as form is concerned.

- i. *Hélas*, which in O. F. was written *hé las!* is composed of the interjection *hé!* and the adjective *las* (*lassum*), 'unhappy,' ('cette mère est *lasse* de la mort de son fils'; 'Hé *las* que je suis,' i. e. wretched that I am). Formerly the adjective *las* in this expression was variable; thus Joinville (early fourteenth century) writes: 'quand la royne ot ce, elle dit *hé lasse!* ce ai je tout fet.' It was only in the fifteenth century that the two words became inseparable and consequently invariable. At the same time *las* lost its primitive force, and passed from the sense of grief and pain to that of fatigue, just as the meanings of *gêne* and *ennui*, which originally meant 'torture' and 'hate,' have come to mean merely 'annoyance' and 'weariness.'
- ii. *Dame!* is an abbreviation of the O. F. *Damedeu* (*Domine-Deus*), which is constantly met with in mediæval texts. It occurs in its primitive form in the *Life of St. Léger*¹ (tenth century):

'Domine deu devemps lauder;'

as *damne dieu* in the *Chanson de Roland* (eleventh century); and as *damedeu* in the twelfth century.

From its frequent use in such phrases as '*Dame-Dieu* nous aide!' the word came to be employed as an interjection, and was eventually shortened into *Dame* by itself. Thus the exclamation *Ah! dame*, which has nowadays lost all meaning, signified originally 'Oh! Lord God!'

¹ See *Specimens of Old French*, Spec. iii.

BOOK III.

FORMATION OF WORDS.

IN this third Book we shall briefly consider the formation of words.

Affixes.

§ 670. Those parts of a word which are added to the root for the purpose of modifying its meaning are known by the general name of affixes. Thus, given the root *forme* in French, we make from it the words *in-form-ation*, *ré-form-ation*, *trans-form-ation*, &c., by means of the affixes *in-*, *ré-*, *trans-*, and *-ation*.

Prefixes and Suffixes.

§ 671. Those affixes which precede the root are termed prefixes (e. g. *in-*, *ré-*, *trans-* in the above examples), while those which come after the root are termed suffixes (e. g. *-ation* in the above examples). Prefixes are instrumental in the formation of compounds, suffixes in the formation of derivatives. Each of these processes will be studied in turn, so that we shall thereby pass in review both prefixes and suffixes.

CHAPTER I.

COMPOUND WORDS.

§ 672. It is necessary to distinguish between words compounded of nouns, of adjectives, of verbs, and of particles, the last being the most numerous and the most important of all.

673. Prefixes must be considered from two points of view, that of their origin, and that of their form.

- i. As regards origin—a prefix may be of Latin origin, as *re-*, *dé-* in *re-nier*, *dé-lie*, from *re-negare*, *de-ligare*; or of French origin, that is to say, created on the model of Latin prefixes (as in *re-change*), the word thus formed having no counterpart in Latin.
- ii. As regards form—a point which requires special attention; for it is of the highest importance, in the case both of compound words and derivatives, to distinguish clearly between the two classes of words which make up the French language, viz. those of popular, and those of learned, formation; that is to say, between compounds such as *sur-prendre* (*super-*), *tre-passer* (*trans-*), which are the natural products of the unconscious development of the language, and such words as *super-fétation*, *trans-poser*, which are the conscious creations of the learned.

The Accentuation of Compounds.

§ 674. Words compounded with substantives, adjectives, and verbs, follow the ordinary accentuation of simple words, since the constituent parts of the compound have become so closely united as to completely lose their separate identity; in other words, compounds such as *orfèvre* (*auri-fābrum*, *aubépine* (*alba-spīna*), *chèvre-feuille* (*capri-fōlia*), have been treated in exactly the same way as the simple words *bonté* (*bonitātem*), *ornement* (*ornamētum*), *carrefour* (*quadri-fūrcum*), and the like (see §§ 26, 27).

§ 675. In the case of words compounded with particles it is needful, in order to realise the part played by the Latin accent, to distinguish carefully between Latin compounds which have passed into French, and those compounds which have been constructed at first hand in French.

i. *Latin Compounds which have passed into French.*

The majority of Latin compounds borrowed by the French have been treated by them as simple words, their primitive condition as compounds having been lost sight of. The result has been that, as the accent in many cases was on the determining or emphatic particle, the qualified word which followed it has been annihilated, or so contracted as to be completely unrecognisable, while the particle itself has lost its original sense; as in *cercueil*, O. F. *sarqueu* (*sarcó-phagum*); *trèfle* (*trifolium*); *couche* (*cóloco*); *coudre* (*cón-suere*); &c. In other cases, however, it has been desired to preserve in French both the force of the determining particle and the sense of the word qualified. In order to attain this end, in those words which would naturally, owing to the accentuation of the particle, have become deformed (as in the case of those mentioned above), the accent was thrown forward a syllable, and fell on the qualified word, which was thus accented as if it had not been compounded; as in *élève* (*e-lévo* for *é-levo*), *renie* (*re-négo* for *ré-nego*), *compère* (*com-páter* for *cóm-pater*), &c. This shifting of the accent, which was due to the emphasis of the meaning, no doubt took place in the popular Latin before the words passed into French. It was an excellent expedient for bringing out the force of the simple words, which had almost entirely been lost in the compounds, not a trace having remained in the case of those which were regularly accented¹.

ii. *Compounds constructed at first hand in French.*

In the case of compounds of French origin it was natural that the second method of accentuation should be alone employed; there was no inclination to throw back on the determining particle the accent belonging to the qualified

¹ See Gaston Paris, *Accent latin*, pp. 83-4.

word, which would have been the case had these same compounds been of Latin origin. Accordingly, compounds were formed, either by joining particles derived from the Latin to words with which they had never been united in Latin, as in *en-voyer* (*inde-viâre*), *en-lever* (*inde-levâre*), *sous-traire* (*subtus-trâhere*), &c.; or by prefixing to Latin or French words particles, Latin or French, which had been employed in the formation of compounds in Latin, as in *archi-duc*, *vi-comte* (*vice-cómitem*)¹.

Compound Substantives.

§ 676. Compound substantives may be divided into three classes, viz. those compounded (i.) of two substantives; (ii.) of a substantive and an adjective; (iii.) of a substantive and a verb.

§ 677. Substantives compounded of two substantives.—Compounds of this description may be subdivided into three classes, according as they date from (i.) the Latin period, (ii.) the Old French period, or (iii.) the Modern French period.

- i. Compounds of the Latin period.—To this class belong compounds consisting of two substantives in juxtaposition which have passed into French direct from the Latin; such as, *orfèvre* (*auri-fâbrum*), *connétable* (*comes-stâbuli*), *orpiment* (*auri-pigmentum*), *lundi* (*lunæ-diem*), *mercredi* (*Mercuri-diem*), *mappemonde* (*mappa-mundi*), &c.; and proper names, *Port-Vendres* (*Portum-Vénëris*), *Dampierre* (*Dominum-Pétrum*), *Montmartre* (*Montem-Mârtÿrum*), &c.
- ii. Compounds of the Old French period.—Here belong such compounds as *hôtel-Dieu*, *fête-Dieu*, *bain-Marie*, &c., and the proper names *Fontevrault*, *Châtellerault*, and the like; these are relics of the O. F. construction

¹ See Gaston Paris, *Accent latin*, p. 84.

in which the possessive genitive was marked by the objective case without a preposition ; thus in O. F. we find 'l'épée Roland,' not 'l'épée *de* Roland,' 'la maison le roi,' not 'la maison *du* roi,' and so on¹. Consequently *hôtel-Dieu*, *Fontevrault*, are equivalent to 'hôtel *de* Dieu,' 'Font *d'*Evrault,' and so on.

- iii. Compounds of the Modern French period.—Modern compounds of two substantives are united by means of various prepositions ; e. g. *eau-de-vie*, *rez-de-chaussée*, *chemin de fer*, *hôtel de ville*, *char-à-bancs*, *pot-au-feu*, *arc-en-ciel*, *maître-ès-arts*, &c.

§ 678. Substantives compounded of substantive and adjective.—These may be sub-divided into two classes, according as the qualifying adjective precedes or follows the substantive.

- i. The adjective precedes :—*aub-épine*, *bon-heur*, *bon-jour*, *mi-di*, *mi-lieu*, *prime-vère*, *prin-temps*, *quint-essence*, *sauf-conduit*, *vif-argent* ; and proper names, such as *Beau-lieu*, *Belle-Isle*, *Chau-mont*, *Cler-mont*, *Gran-ville*, *Haute-rive*, *Riche-lieu*, *Riche-mont*, &c.
- ii. The adjective follows :—*amour-propre*, *banque-route*, *coffre-fort*, *eau-forte*, *fer-blanc*, *rai-fort*, *ro-marin*, *vin-aigre*, &c. ; and proper names, such as *Château-neuf*, *Mont-aigu*, *Roche-fort*, *Vau-cluse*, *Ville-franche*, &c.

§ 679. Substantives compounded of substantive and verb.—Of these, examples are :—*abat-jour*, *bé-gueule* (i. e. *bée-gueule*), *casse-noisette*, *couvre-chef*, *fai-néant*, *garde-malade*, *hoche-queue*, *li-cou* (i. e. *lie-cou*), *marche-pied*, *porte-faix*, *porte-feuille*, *porte-manteau*, *porte-monnaie*, *saute-mouton*, *tourne-broche*, *tourne-sol*, *tourne-vis*, *vau-rien*, &c.

[*Note*.—To the above compound substantives may be added those compounded—i. with substantive and adverb, e. g. *bien-fait*, *presqu'île* ; and—ii. with two verbs, e. g. *laisser-aller*, *ouï-dire*, *savoir-faire*.]

¹ Cf. *Specimens of Old French*, v. 149 ; xxxiv. 7, 20.

Compound Adjectives.

§ 680. Compound adjectives may be divided into three classes, viz. those compounded (i.) of an adverb and an adjective (or participle); (ii.) of two adjectives, of which the first is used adverbially; (iii.) of two adjectives in juxtaposition (by the omission of *et*).

§ 681. Compound adjectives:—

- i. Compounded of an adverb and an adjective (or participle), e. g. *bien-heureux*, *bien-séant*, *bien-veillant*, *bien-venu*, *mal-adroit*, *mal-encontreux*, *mal-faisant*, *mal-heureux*, *mal-sain*, &c.
- ii. Compounded of two adjectives, of which the first is used adverbially, e. g. *clair-semé*, *clair-voyant*, *courbatu* (i. e. *court-battu*), *ivre-mort*, *mort-né*, *nouveau-né*, *nouveau-riche*, *tout-puissant*, &c.
- iii. Compounded of two adjectives in juxtaposition (by the omission of *et*), e. g. *aigre-doux*, *clair-obscur*, *sourd-muet*, &c.

[*Note*.—To this last class belong the compound numerals (formed by addition), such as:—*vingt trois*, *cent huit*, *mil huit cent soixante huit*, which formerly were ‘*vingt et trois*,’ ‘*cent et huit*,’ ‘*mil et huit cent*, *et soixante*, *et huit*.’]

Compound Verbs.

§ 682. Compound verbs may be formed:—

- i. Of a substantive and a verb:—*boule-verser*, *col-porter*, *man-œuvrer*, *main-tenir*, *sau-poudrer*, &c.; to which may be added verbs formed on the model of Latin *œdi-ficare*, such as *cruci-fier*, *édi-fier*, *ludi-fier*, *paci-fier*, *rami-fier*, *versi-fier*, &c.
- ii. Of an adjective and a verb, on the model of Latin *sancti-ficare*, such as *boni-fier*, *certi-fier*, *clari-fier*, *puri-fier*, *sancti-fier*, *véri-fier*, &c.; to which may be added *liqué-fier*, *stupé-fier*, &c.

Words compounded with Particles.

§ 683. The particles (*prefixes*) used in the formation of compounds are of two kinds, viz. adverbs or prepositions; these are united to *roots*, consisting of substantives, adjectives, or verbs.

List of French Prefixes.

§ 684. French prefixes may be divided into four classes, viz. prepositional, qualitative, quantitative, and negative.

i. The prepositional particles are:—*a-*, *ad-* (*ad*), *ant-*, *an-* (*ante*), *après-* (*ad-pressus*), *arrière-* (*ad-retro*), *av-* (*ab*), *avant-* (*ab-ante*), *contre-* (*contra*), *com-*, *con-*, *co-* (*cum*), *de-* (*de*), *dés-*, *dé-* (*dis*, *di*), *en-*, *em-* (*in*), *ent-*, *em-*, *en-* (*inde*), *entre-* (*inter*), *es-*, *é-* (*ex*), *fors-*, *hors-* (*foris*), *outré-* (*ultra*), *par-* (*per*), *pour-*, *por-* (*pro*), *pré-* (*prae*), *prés-* (*pressus*), *puis-* (*post*), *re-*, *r-* (*re*), *rière-* (*retro*), *se-* (*se*), *sou-* (*sub*), *sous-* (*subtus*), *sur-*, *sour-* (*super*), *sus-* (**susum*), *très-*, *tré-*, *tra-* (*trans*), *vi-* (*vice*).

ii. The qualitative particles are:—*bien-* (*bene*), *mal-*, *mau-* (*male*), *més-*, *mé-* (*minus*); to which may be added *bé-*, *ber-*, *bis-*, *bi-* (*bis*, in a pejorative sense).

iii. The quantitative particles are:—*bis-*, *bi-*, *bes-*, *bar-*, *bé-*, *ba-* (*bis*), *plus-* (*plus*), *trop-*; to which may be added the adjectives *mi-* (*medium*), *demi-* (*dimidium*), and the learned *semi-* (*semi*).

iv. The negative particles are:—*non-* (*non*), *en-*, *in-* (*in*, privative), and *sans-* (*sine*).

Prepositional Particles.

§ 685. Of words compounded with prepositional particles, examples are:—

i. With *a-*, *ad-* (*ad*, the *d* of which was for the most part assimilated with the following consonant, as in *ac-cedere*, *ap-portare*, *at-trahere*, &c.):—*a-venir*

(*ad-venire*), *a-vertir* (*ad-*vertire*), *ar-rêter* (*ad-restare*), &c.; and of French origin (see § 673, i.):—*a-baisser*, *a-border*, *a-chever*, *a-mener*, *a-moindrir*, *at-tirer*, *a-valer*; *a-compte*, *af-faire*, *a-verse*, &c.

[*Note*.—In O.F. the *d* of *ad*, whether assimilated or not, was dropped, e.g. *a-orer* (*ad-orare*), *a-porter* (*ap-portare*), *a-traire* (*at-trahere*); in modern French the *d* (pure or assimilated) has for the most part been restored, as in *ad-orer*, *ap-porter*, *at-traire*; in certain cases, however, the old forms have been retained, as in *a-percevoir*, *a-battre*, *a-compte*, &c. The *d* reappears, of course, in learned words, such as *ad-judication*, *ad-ministration*, &c.]

- ii. With *ant-*, *an-* (*ante*):—O. F. *ant-an* (*ante-annum*), *an-cêtre* (*ante-cessor*); and of French origin:—O. F. *an-garde* (i. e. 'avant-garde').

[*Note*.—i. The Latin *ante* has not been preserved in French (except in learned words, such as *anté-diluvien*, *anti-dater*, and the like); it is, however, represented by the derivatives (O.F.) *ains* (**antius*), whence *ainé* (O.F. *ainsné*, *aisné*: **antius-natum*); and *av-ant* (*ab-ante*), whence such compounds as *avant-bras*, *avant-garde*, *avant-hier*, *avant-scène*, &c.—ii. The prefix *ante-*, *anti-*, from *ante* (as in *anté-diluvien*, *anti-dater*) must not be confounded with *anti-* from the Greek *ἀντί* in such words as *anti-pape*, *anti-pode*, *anti-Christ*, &c.]

- iii. With *av-* (*ab*):—*av-ant* (*ab-ante*), *av-ancer* (**ab-antiare*), *av-eugle* (*ab-oculum*), *av-orter* (*ab-ortare*).

[*Note*.—i. Learned words are *ab-ject*, *ab-latif*, *ab-ortif*, *ab-solu*, &c.—ii. The Latin *abs* occurs in O. F. *as-tenir*, now written *abs-tenir*, and learned words such as *abs-tinence*, *abs-traire*, &c.]

- iv. With *contre-* (*contra*):—*contre-dire* (*contra-dicere*), *contre-venir* (*contra-venire*); and numerous compounds of French origin, e.g. *contre-bande*, *contre-faire*, *contre-poids*, *contre-sens*, *contre-signer*, *contrôle* (i. e. *contre-rôle*), &c.; learned words:—*contra-diction*, *contra-vention*.

- v. With *com-*, *con-*, *co-* (*cum*, and by assimilation, *com*,

con, col, cor, co):—*com-mencer* (*cum-initiare*), *com-mettre* (*com-mittere*), *com-pagnon* (**com-panionem*), *con-ter*, *compter* (*com-putare*), *coucher*, O. F. *colchier* (*col-locare*), *cailler* (*eo-agulare*), *couvrir* (*co-operire*); and of French origin, nearly all being learned words:—*com-mère*, *com-père*, *com-promettre*, *com-poser*, *con-clure*, *con-forme*, &c.

- vi. With *de- (de)*:—*de-mander* (*de-mandare*), *de-meurer* (*de-morari*), *de-gré* (*de-gradum*), *dorer* (*de-aurare*), *derrière* (*de-retro*); of French origin:—*de-bout*, *devant* (i. e. *de-avant*), *dessous* (i. e. *de-sous*), *dessus* (i. e. *de-sus*), &c.

[*Note.*—In a large number of instances the prefix *de (de)* has been replaced by *dé (dis)*; even in words which apparently come direct from the Latin, e. g. *dé-choir* (*de-cadere*), *dé-clarer* (*de-clarare*), *dé-clamer* (*de-clamare*), *dé-duire* (*de-ducere*), *dé-fendre* (*de-fendere*), &c.]

- vii. With *dés-, dé (dis, di)*:—*dé-pendre* (*dis-pendere*), *dé-plaire* (*dis-placere*) (see above, vi. n.); a very large number of compounds have been formed in French with the aid of this particle, e. g. *dé-battre*, *dé-border*, *dés-espérer*, *dés-hériter*; *dé-loyal*, *dés-agréable*, *dés-honnête*, *dés-œuvré*; *dé-gout*, *dé-raison*, *dés-honneur*, *dés-ordre*, &c.; learned words are *dis-simuler*, *dis-penser*, *dis-traire*, &c.

[*Note.*—The Latin *dis* occurred also as *di*, which gave French *de*, as in *de-viser* (*di-visare*), *de-mi* (*di-midium*).]

- viii. With *en-, em- (in, and by assimilation im, &c.)*:—*en-duire* (*in-ducere*), *en-clore* (*in-claudere*), *en-fler* (*in-flare*), *en-semble* (*in-simul*), *em-plir* (*im-plere*), *em-ployer* (*im-plicare*); and a number of French origin, e. g. *en-fermer*, *en-ivrer*, *en-richir*, *en-caisser*, *en-cadrer*, *em-placer*, *em-pocher*; *em-bonpoint*, *en-train*, *en-contre*, &c.; learned words are *in-clus*, *in-scrire*, *in-fernal*, &c.

- ix. With *ent-, em-, en- (inde)*, in compounds of French origin only, the Latin particle not being found in com-

position:—*em-mener*, *em-porter*, *en-lever*, *en-fuir*, *entraîner*, *en-voler*, *en-voyer*, *s'en aller*, *s'en venir*, &c.; in the case of the last two verbs *en* is separable, e.g. 'il s'en est allé,' 'il s'en est venu.'

- x. With *entre-* (inter):—O. F. *entre-dire* (inter-dicere), which has been replaced by the learned form *inter-dire*; a number of compounds have been formed with this particle in French, e.g. *entre-couper*, *entre-mettre*, *entre-voir*, *entr'ouvrir*, *entre-tenir*, *entre-temps* (i. e. O. F. *entre-tant*: *inter-tantum*), *entre-sol*, *entre-mets*, *entre-deux*, *entre-ligne*, *entr'acte*, &c.; learned words:—*inter-ligne*, *inter-mission*, *inter-venir*, &c.
- xi. With *es-*, *é-* (*ex*):—*es-saim* (*ex-amen*), *es-suyer* (*ex-sucare*), *é-lever*, O. F. *es-lever* (*ex-levare*), *é-lire*, O. F. *es-lire* (*ex-legere*), *é-pancher*, O. F. *es-pancher* (*ex-pandicare*); and of French origin:—*é-carter*, *é-clairer*, *é-grener*, *é-mouvoir*, *é-prendre*, *ef-facer*, *ef-forcer*, *es-souffler*, &c.; learned words:—*ex-amen*, *ex-ercer*, *ex-cursion*, *ex-traire*, *ex-tinction*, &c.

[*Note*.—Only a few Latin compounds with *e* have passed into French, e.g. O. F. *e-mender*, now *a-mender* (*e-mendare*); *e* has for the most part been replaced by *ex*, as in *é-lire* (O. F. *es-*) from *ex-legere* for *e-ligere*, and *é-lever* (O. F. *es-*) from *ex-levare* for *e-levare*; no new compounds have been formed in French with *e-* (*e*).]

- xii. With *fors-*, *for-*, *four-*, *hors-*, *hor-* (*foris*), in compounds of French origin only:—*for-ban*, *for-fait*, *for-ligner*, *four-voyer*, *four-bu* (properly past part. of *four-boire* 'to drink to excess,' hence, of horses, 'foundered,' from over-drinking after hard work), *for-cené* (for O. F. *for-sené*); *hor-mis*, *hors d'œuvre*.

[*Note*.—This particle also enters into the composition of the word *fau-bourg*, which is an alteration of O. F. *fors-bourg*.]

- xiii. With *outr-* (*ultra*), in compounds of French origin:—*outr-passer*, *outr-cuidance*, *outr-mer*, *outr-tombe*; learned words:—*ultra-montain*, *ultra-pontin*, &c.

- xiv. With *par-* (*per*):—*par-faire* (*per-facere*), *par-courir* (*per*-currere*), *par-jurer* (*per-jurare*), *par-venir* (*per-venire*); of French origin:—*par-achever*, *par-fumer*, *par-semer*, *par-terre*, *par-dessus*, *par-dessous*.

[*Note*.—In Latin *per* was employed with adjectives as an intensive particle, e.g. *per-grandis*, *per-gratus*, *per-horridus*, *per-utilis*, &c. In O. F. this usage was continued, *par* being used in the sense of the modern *très*, and being usually separated from the word qualified by a verb or another adverb; e.g. 'tant *par* est sage,' 'cui Deus *par* amat tant¹;' a relic of this construction is preserved in the expression, 'c'est *par* trop fort.']

- xv. With *pour-*, *por-* (*pro*):—*pour-suivre* (*pro*-sequere*), *pour-voir* (*pro-videre*); of French origin:—*pour-chasser*, *pour-fendre*, *pour-parler*, *por-traire*, *pour-tour*, &c.; learned words:—*pro-clamer*, *pro-fond* (O. F. *par-font*: *per-fundum*), *pro-mener*, &c.

- xvi. With *pré-* (*prae*):—*prêcher* (*prae-dicare*), *pré-face* (*prae-fatio*), *pré-nom* (*prae-nomen*), *pré-sage* (*prae-sagium*), &c.

- xvii. With *prés-* (*pressus*), in combination with *que*:—*pres-que*, whence *presqu'île*; in combination with *à*:—*a-près*, whence *après-demain*, *après-dîner*, *après-midi*, *après-souper*.

- xviii. With *puis-* (*post*):—O. F. *puis-né* (*post-natum*), whence *puîné* (cf. *ainé*, see above ii. n. i.); learned words are, *post-dater*, *post-face*.

- xix. With *re-*, *r-* (*re*):—*re-cours* (*re-cursum*), *re-former* (*re-formare*), *re-venir* (*re-venire*), &c.; of French origin:—*re-buter*, *re-dire*, *re-faire*, *re-hausser*, *re-pousser*, *r-acheter*, *r-appeler*, *re-bord*, *re-gard*, *re-nom*, &c.

[*Note*.—i. The prefix *ré-* is of learned origin, as in *ré-former* (in contrast to *re-former*), *ré-paration*, &c.; but in *réjouir* the prefix is not *ré-* but *re-*, this word being compounded of *re-* and *éjouir* (O. F.

¹ *Life of St. Alexis*, 7; cf. *Specimens of Old French*, iv. 134, 140; v. 154; vii. 34; &c.

esjoir).—ii. In certain compounds the prefix *re-* has been replaced by *ra-*, as in *ra-gôûter*, *ra-fraîchir*, *ra-jeunir*, &c.]

xx. With *rière-* (*retro*), in combination with *à*:—*ar-rière* (*ad-retro*), whence *arrière-ban*, *arrière-boutique*, *arrière-main*, *arrière-pensée*, *arrière-neveu*, &c.; learned words are *rétro-actif*, *rétro-grade*, *rétro-spectif*, &c.

xxi. With *se-* (*se*):—*se-vrer* (*se-parare*), O. F. *se-ûr*, *sûr* (*se-curum*). No new compounds have been formed in French with this particle.

xxii. With *sou-*, *se-* (*sub*):—*souf-fler* (*sub-flare*), *souf-frir* (*suf-ferre*), *se-courir* (*sub-*currere*), O. F. *se-mondre* (*sub-*monere*); and of French origin:—*sé-journer* (O. F. *so-*, *su-*, *sur-jurner*); *se-lon* (*sub-longum*) (see § 102); learned words:—*sub-alterne*, *sub-juguer*, *sub-stance*, *sub-vention*, &c.

[*Note*.—For the most part the prefix *sou-* (*sub*) has been replaced by *sous-*, *sou-* (*subtus*), even in words which apparently come direct from the Latin, e.g. *sou-mettre* comes not from *sub-mittere* but from *subtus-mittere*, as is evident from the O. F. *soz-metre*. (See below, xxiii.)]

xxiii. With *sous-*, *sou-* (*subtus*):—*sou-mettre* (*subtus-mittere*, for *sub-*), *sou-rire* (*subtus-*ridere*, for *sub-*) (see above xxii. n.); and a number of new compounds, such as:—*sou-ligner*, *sou-peser*, *sou-tenir*, *sous-traire*, *sous-entendre*, *sou-coupe*, *sous-officier*, *sous-marin*, *sou-terrain*, &c.

xxiv. With *sur-*, *sour-* (*super*):—*sour-cil* (*super-cilium*), *sur-seoir* (*super-sedere*), *sur-venir* (*super-venire*), *sur-vivre* (*super-vivere*), &c.; and a large number of French origin:—*sur-charger*, *sur-mener*, *sur-monter*, *sur-humain*, *sur-naturel*, *sur-face*, *sur-tout*, *sur-lendemain*, &c.; learned words:—*super-flu*, *super-fin*, *super-latif*, &c.

[*Note*.—The words *soubre-saut* (whence Eng. *somersault*, *somersel*) and *subré-cargue* are of Spanish origin (*sobre-salto*, *sobre-cargo*); the real French forms are *sur-saut*, *sur-charge*.]

- xxv. With *sus*, *sou-* (**susum* for *sursum*):—*sou-pir* (*suspirium*), *sou-pirer* (*sus-pirare*), *soupçon*, O. F. *sos-peçon*, (*sus-picionem*); of French origin:—*sus-dit*, *sus-énoncé*, *sus-nommé*, &c.; learned words:—*sus-ception*, *sus-citer*, *sus-pect*, *sus-picion*, &c.
- xxvi. With *très*, *tré*, *tra-* (*trans-*, *tra-*):—*tra-duire* (*traducere*), *tra-hir* (**tradire*), *tra-vers* (*trans-versus*); of French origin:—*tré-passer*, *tres-saillir*, *tré-bucher*, *tré-pointe*, and O. F. *tres-geter*, *tres-muer*, *tres-suer*; learned words:—*transcrire*, *trans-former*, *trans-port*, &c.
- xxvii. *Vi-* (*vice*):—*vi-comte*, O. F. *vis-comte* (*vice-comitem*), *vi-dame*, O. F. *vis-dame* (*vice-dominum*); learned words:—*vice-amiral*, *vice-consul*, *vice-roi*, &c.

Qualitative Particles.

§ 686. Of compounds formed with qualitative particles, we have:—

- i. With *bien*-, *ben-* (*bene*):—*benêt*, *benoît* (*bene-dictum*), *bénir*, O. F. *beneïr* (*bene-dicere*); of French origin:—*bien-aimé*, *bien-dire*, *bien-être*, *bien-fait*, *bien-heureux*, *bien-séant*, *bien-venu*, &c.; learned words:—*béné-diction*, *béné-fice*, *béné-vole*, &c.
- ii. With *mal*-, *mau-* (*male*):—*mal-ade* (*male-habitus*), O. F. *mal-dire*, *maudire* (*male-dicere*), *maussade* (*male-sapientia*); of French origin:—*mal-aise*, *mal-entendu*, *mal-heureux*, *mal-propre*, *mal-sain*, *mal-mener*, *mal-traiter*, *mal-veillant*, &c.; learned words:—*malé-diction*, *malé-fice*, &c.
- iii. With *més*-, *mé-* (*minus*):—*més-aise*, *més-aventure*, *més-estimer*, *més-user*, *mé-chant* (O. F. *mes-chéant*, pres. part. of *mes-chéoir*: *minus-cadere*), *mé-dire*, *mé-faire*, *mé-fier*, *mé-prendre*, &c.

[*Note*.—The Latin adverb *minus*, when tonic (*mīnus*) became *moins* (see § 42, n. i.), when atonic and employed as an inseparable particle it became *menos-* (preserved in Spanish and Portuguese) which was

reduced to *mens-* (preserved in Provençal) and finally to *mes-* (*mis-* in Italian, as in *miscredere*), which is preserved (before a vowel) in French, and *mé-*; thus from *minus-pretiāre* we have Span. *menos-preciar*, Prov. *mens-presar*, Fr. *mé-priser*.]

- iv. With *bis-*, *bi-*, *bé-*, *bes-*, *ber-*, *bar-*, *ba-* (*bis*, in pejorative sense):—*bis-cornu*, *bis-tourner*, *bé-vue*, *bes-aigre*, *ber-lue* (*bis*-**luca* for *-lucem*), *bar-bouiller*, *bar-bouquet*, *bar-long*, *ba-rioler*. No new compounds are formed with this particle in French.

Quantitative Particles.

§ 687. Compounded with these we have:—

- i. With *bis-*, *bi-*, *bes-*, *be-*, *ba-* (*bis*, *bi-*):—*biais* (*bi-facem*), *ba-lance* (*bi-lancia*), *besace* (**bisaccia*), and the later compounds *bes-aiguë*, *bes-as*, *bis-aïeul*, *bis-cuit*; learned words:—*bis-sac* (of which *besace* is the popular form), *bis-sexe*, *bis-torte*, *bi-corne*, *bi-pède*, *bi-valve*.
- ii. With *plus-*, *plu-* (*plus*):—*plu-part*, *plu-tôt*, *plus-value*, *plus-que-parfait*.
- iii. With *trop-* (see § 649, xvii.):—*trop-bu*, *trop-plein*.
- iv. With *mi-* (*medium*), *demi-* (*dimidium*):—*mi-août*, *mi-carême*, *mi-chemin*, *mi-côte*, *mi-di*, *mi-lieu*, *mi-nuit* (see § 678, i.); *demi-cercle*, *demi-dieu*, *demi-jour*, *demi-lune*; learned words:—*médiateur*, *médiation*, *médiatement*, *médatiser*.
- v. With *semi-* (*semi-*), in learned words only:—*semi-brève*, *semi-ton*, *semi-voyelle*, *semi-historique*, &c.

Negative Particles.

§ 688. Compounded with negative particles we have:—

- i. With *non-* (*non*):—*non-chalant* (from O. F. *non-chaloir*, see § 615), *non-obstant*, *non-pareil*; and *non-lieu*, *non-sens*, *non-valeur*; *non-paiement*, *non-résidence*, &c.

[*Note*.—*Non-*, which formerly was much used as a negative particle,

has been for the most replaced by the learned *in-* (see below, ii.) ; thus O.F. *non-nuisant*¹ has been completely ousted by the learned *in-nocent*.]

- ii. With *en-*, *in-* (*in*, privative) :—*en-fant* (*in-fantem*), *entier* (*in-tegrum*), *ennemi* (*in-amicum*) ; and a very large number of learned words, such as *in-attentif*, *in-décis*, *in-juste*, *in-quiet*, *in-su*, *in-utile*, &c.
- iii. With *sans-* (*sine*), of French origin only :—*sans-cœur*, *sans-culotte*, *sans-façon*, *sans-gêne*, *sans-souci*, &c.

CHAPTER II.

DERIVATIVES.

Suffixes.

§ 689. Suffixes, like prefixes (see § 673), must be considered from two points of view, that of their origin, and that of their form.

- i. As regards origin—a suffix may be of Latin origin, as *-ier*, *-u*, in *prem-ier*, *corn-u*, from *prim-arium*, *cornutum* ; or of French origin, that is to say, created on the model of the Latin suffixes (as in *printan-ier*, *charn-u*), the word thus formed having no counterpart in Latin.
- ii. As regards form—a suffix may be of popular origin, as *-ier*, *-aison*, in *prem-ier*, *ven-aison*, from *prim-arium*, *ven-ationem* ; or of learned origin, as *-aire*, *-ation*, in *prim-aire*, *lég-ation*.

Accented and un-accented Suffixes.

§ 690. Latin suffixes may be divided into two classes, the accented or tonic, as in *mort-âlem*, *hum-ânum*, and the unaccented or atonic, as in *âs-inum*, *pôrt-icum*, *môb-ilem*.

¹ This word occurs in the *Oxford French Psalter* (twelfth century) ; see *Specimens of Old French*, xii, 17.

- i. In accordance with the law that the Latin tonic accent persists in French (§ 15), accented Latin suffixes are preserved in the corresponding French words, e.g. *mort-el*, *hum-ain*. In process of time these suffixes, *-el*, *-ain*, &c., came to be employed in the formation of new derivatives, by attaching them to words which had no such suffix in Latin, e.g. *personn-el*, *six-ain*, &c.
- ii. In accordance with the law stated in Book I (§ 22), the vowel of atonic Latin suffixes disappears in French, as in *ás(ŷ)num*: *âne*, *pórt(ŷ)cum*: *porche*, *mób(ŷ)lēm*: *meuble*. These weak or atonic suffixes consequently were not available for the formation of new popular derivatives in French. When, however, the learned began to create derivatives, they copied the forms of these atonic Latin suffixes without regard to the accent, and produced such words as *port-ique*, *mob-ile*, &c., thus shifting the tonic accent from the root to the suffix. As the atonic Latin suffixes (as in *lín-ŷum*: *linge*, *cáv-ěa*: *cage*, *fórt-ŷa*: *force*, *pórt-ŷcum*: *porche*, *sér-ŷca*: *serge*, *púm-ŷcem*: *ponce*, *páll-ŷdum*: *pâle*, *mób-ŷlēm*: *meuble*, *fráx-ŷnum*: *frêne*, *rét-ŷna*: *rêne*, *vénd-ŷta*: *vente*, *árċ-ŷrem*: *arbre*, *mód-ŷlum*: *moule*, *úng-ŷla*: *ongle*, &c.) have given rise to no derivatives of popular formation in French, they may be disregarded here.

[*Note*.—Learned words have been formed with most of the above, e.g. *fabr-ique*, *rig-ide*, *cal-ice*, *frag-ile*, *mach-ine*, *calc-ul*, *cell-ule*.]

Nominal, Verbal, and Adverbial Suffixes.

§ 691. Suffixes may be classified under three heads:—
 (i.) *nominal* suffixes, or those employed in the formation of nouns, substantive or adjective; (ii.) *verbal* suffixes, or those employed in the formation of verbs; (iii.) *adverbial* suffixes, or those employed in the formation of adverbs.

Nominal Suffixes.

§ 692. French nominal suffixes are some fifty in number ; the most important are as follows :—

- i. *-able* (*-áble*), *-ible* (*-íble*):—*aim-able* (*am-áble*), *lou-able* (*laud-áble*), *horr-ible* (*horr-íble*), *sens-ible* (*sens-íble*) ; of French origin :—*agré-able*, *charit-able*, *croy-able*, *pitoy-able*, &c. ; *pén-ible*, *pais-ible*, *indic-ible*, &c.
- ii. *-ade* (*-áta*), borrowed from the Italian in the twelfth century, the true French form being *-ée* (see below, xxi.):—*brav-ade*, *cavalc-ade*, *escap-ade*, *fusill-ade*, *œill-ade*, *rodomont-ade*, &c.
- iii. *-age* (*-áticu*), originally employed (as in popular Latin) in the formation of adjectives :—*sauv-age* (*silv-áticu*), *vol-age* (*vol-áticu*), *voy-age* (*vi-áticu*) ; of French origin :—*from-age* (for *form-age*, ‘lait formage’), *ombr-age* (‘lieu ombrage’), *ram-age* (‘chant ramage’), &c. ; and later, such words as :—*alli-age*, *balay-age*, *chauff-age*, *mouill-age*, *vitri-age*, &c. ; learned words :—*dogm-atique*, *err-atique*, *lun-atique*, *vi-atique*, &c.

[*Note*.—This suffix *-age* was re-Latinised into *-agium* in the Low Latin of the monks, &c., e.g. *hom-age*, *mess-age*, &c. reappear as *hom-agium*, *mess-agium*, &c.]

- iv. *-agne*, *-aigne* (*-ánea*, *-ánia*):—*mont-agne* (*mont-ánea*), *chât-aigne* (*cast-ánea*), *champ-agne* (*camp-ánia*), *Esp-agne* (*Hisp-ánia*).
- v. *-ai*, *-y* (*-ácu*, *-iácu*):—*Cambr-ai* (*Camer-ácu*), *Dou-ai* (*Du-ácu*), *Épern-ay* (*Sparn-ácu*), *vr-ai* (**ver-ácu*), *Clich-y* (*Clip-iácu*), *Fleur-y* (*Flor-iácu*), *Savign-y* (*Sabin-iácu*).

[*Note*.—In the South of France *-ácu*, *-iácu* became *-ac* :—*Aurill-ac* (*Aurel-iácu*), *Pauill-ac* (*Paul-iácu*), *Carenn-ac* (*Carenden-ácu*), *Polign-ac* (*Paulin-iácu*).]

- vi. *-ay*, *-aie* (*-étu*, *-éta*), chiefly used to indicate plantations, &c. :—*Auln-ay* (*Aln-étu*), *Châten-ay* (*Castan-étu*),

Rouvr-ay (**Robor-étu**) ; and with a change of gender (-éta for -étu) :—*aun-aie*, O.F. *aun-oi* (**aln-éta**), *orm-aie* (**ulm-éta**), *sauss-aie* (**salic-éta**) ; of French origin :—*boul-aie*, *châtaigner-aie*, *chên-aie*, *houss-aie*, *pommer-aie*, *roser-aie*, &c.

- vii. *-ail, -aille* (**-áculu, -ácula**) :—*gouvern-ail* (**gubern-áculu**), *tram-ail* (**trem-áculu**), *ten-aille* (**ten-ácula**) ; of French origin :—*épouvant-ail*, *vant-ail*, *vitr-ail*, &c. ; learned words :—*habit-acle*, *mir-acle*, *pin-acle*, *tabern-acle*, &c.
- viii. *-aille* (**-ália**) :—*mur-aille* (**mur-ália**) ; of French origin :—*brouss-aille*, *cis-aille*, *ferr-aille*, *fianç-ailles*, *sem-ailles*, *prêtr-aille*, *valet-aille*, &c.
- ix. *-ain, -aine* (**-ánu, -ána**) :—*cert-ain* (**cert-ánu**), *hum-ain* (**hum-ánu**), *rom-ain* (**rom-ánu**), *vil-ain* (**vill-ánu**), *font-aine* (**font-ána**) ; of French origin :—*chapel-ain*, *haut-ain*, *quatr-ain*, *six-ain* ; *cent-aine*, *douz-aine*, *vingt-aine*, &c. (see below, xxxv.).
- x. *-ais, -ois, -is* (**-énse**) :—*Franç-ais* (**Franc-énse**), *court-ois* (**cort-énse**), *pa-yis* (**pag-énse**) ; of French origin :—*bourge-ois*, *village-ois*, *Dan-ois*, *Angl-ais*, *Holland-ais*, *Beauvais-is*, *Paris-is*, *marqu-is*.
- xi. *-aison* (**-atióne**) :—*compar-aison* (**compar-atióne**), *li-aison* (**lig-atióne**), *or-aison* (**or-atióne**), *ven-aison* (**ven-atióne**) ; of French origin :—*flor-aison*, *livr-aison*, *pend-aison*, &c. ; learned words :—*dériv-ation*, *inclin-ation*, *prépar-ation*, *vac-ation*, &c.
- xii. *-al, -el* (**-ále**) (see § 31, n. i.) :—*ég-al* (**æqu-ále**), *loy-al* (**leg-ále**), *roy-al* (**reg-ále**) ; *charn-el* (**carn-ále**), *mort-el* (**mort-ále**), *chept-el* (**capit-ále**), *hôt-el* (**hospit-ále**), *no-él* (**nat-ále**) ; of French origin :—*ban-al*, *journ-al*, *sign-al* ; *accident-el*, *habitu-el*, &c. ; learned words :—*capit-al*, *fat-al*, *hôpit-al*, *nat-al*, &c.
- xiii. *-ance, -ence* (**-ántia, -éntia**) :—*enf-ance* (**inf-ántia**), *cré-ance* (**cred-éntia**), *dém-ence* (**dem-éntia**), *sem-ence* (**sem-**

éntia), *sent-ence* (*sent-éntia*), &c. ; of French origin :—*assur-ance*, *croy-ance*, *puiss-ance*, *venge-ance* ; learned words :—*jact-ance*, *cad-ence*, *pot-ence*, &c.

- xiv. *-ande*, *-ende* (*-ándá*, *-éndá*) :—*offr-ande* (*offer-éndá*), *réprim-ande* (*reprim-éndá*), *vi-ande* (*viv-éndá*), *prov-ende* (*provid-éndá*) ; of French origin :—*buv-ande*, *lav-ande*, *lég-ende*, &c.

[*Note*.—From *-ande* we get the derivatives *-andier*, *-andière*, and *-anderie*, as in *bu-ande*, *bu-andier*, *bu-anderie* ; *taill-andier*, *taill-anderie*, *lav-andière*, *fil-andière* ; &c.]

- xv. *-ange* (*-áneu*, *-émia*) :—*étr-ange* (*extr-áneu*), *vend-ange* (*vind-émia*), *low-ange* (*laud-émia*) ; of French origin :—*mél-ange*, *vid-ange*.

- xvi. *-ant*, *-and* (*-ánte*, *-énte*) :—*am-ant* (*am-ánte*), *enf-ant* (*inf-ánte*), *march-and*, O. F. *marchē-ant* (*mercat-ánte*) ; and all present participles, e. g. *ay-ant*, *chant-ant*, *fniss-ant*, *recev-ant*, *vend-ant*, &c.

- xvii. *-ard* (Germ. *-hart*) :—*bav-ard*, *cri-ard*, *fuy-ard*, *pleur-ard* ; *bill-ard*, *plac-ard* ; *mouch-ard*, *commun-ard*, &c.

- xviii. *-as*, *-asse*, *-ace*, *-ache* (*-áceu*, *-ácea*) ; *-is*, *-isse*, *-ice*, *-iche* (*-íceu*, *-íceá*, *-íciu*, *-ícia*) ; *-oche* (*-óceu*, *-ócea*) ; and *-uche* (*-úceu*, *-úcea*) :—(a) O. F. *soul-as* (*sol-áciu*), *men-ace* (*min-ácia*) ; and of French origin :—*coutel-as*, *embarr-as* ; *crev-asse*, *cuir-asse*, *terr-asse* ; *brav-ache*, *pan-ache*, &c. (b) O. F. *fait-iz* (*fact-íciu*), O. F. *feint-iz* (*fnct-íciu*), O. F. *trait-iz* (*tract-íciu*), *sauc-isse* (*sals-ícia*), *pel-isse* (*pell-ícia*), *gen-isse* (*jun-ícia*), *serv-ice* (*serv-ítiau*), *just-ice* (*just-ítia*) ; and of French origin :—*éboul-is*, *glac-is*, *hach-is* ; *bât-isse*, *coul-isse* ; *can-iche*, *corn-iche*, *post-iche*, &c. (c) in words of French (or Italian) origin only :—*épin-oche*, *fil-oche*, *maill-oche*, *pi-oche*, *sac-oche* ; *bamb-oche*, *fant-oche*, &c. ; *guen-uche*, *pel-uche*, &c.

[*Note*.—Words in *-ace*, *-oce*, such as *rap-ace*, *viv-ace*, *fér-oce*,

préc-occe, &c. are of learned origin and come from Latin words in *-accē, -occe*.]

- xix. *-âtre* (*-āstru*), in words of French origin, indicating 'with a tinge of' (as in Eng. 'green-ish,' 'sweet-ish') :—*bell-âtre, bleu-âtre, douce-âtre, fol-âtre, jaun-âtre, noir-âtre*, &c. ; also with a slightly depreciative sense (as in Eng. 'poet-aster') :—*fili-âtre, mar-âtre, par-âtre, gentill-âtre, opini-âtre*.
- xx. *-aud, -aut, -aude* (Germ. *-wald*), especially in proper names :—*Arn-aud, Art-aut, Clair-aud, Pêt-aud, Reyn-ault*, &c. ; and with substantives and adjectives :—*bad-aud, crap-aud, hér-aut, levr-aut, rib-aud*, &c. ; often with a certain pejorative sense :—*fin-aud, lourd-aud, noir-aud, rust-aud, sal-aud*.
- xxi. *-é, -ée* (*-ātu, -āta*) :—*avou-é* (*advoc-ātu*), *ann-ée* (*ann-āta*), and past participles of first conjugation, e. g. *donn-é, -ée, lav-é, -ée*, &c. ; of French origin :—*comt-é, duch-é, évêch-é; araign-ée, jonch-ée, ris-ée; bouch-ée, cuiller-ée, poign-ée; côt-é, poir-é, raisin-é; étoil-é, marbr-é, perl-é, sens-é*, &c. ; learned words :—*avoc-at, épiscop-at, ann-ate, dispar-ate*, &c.
- xxii. *-eau, -el, -elle* (*-éllu, -élla*), generally with a diminutive sense :—*agn-eau* (*agn-éllu*), *chât-eau* (*cast-éllu*), *coul-eau* (*cult-éllu*), *mart-eau* (*mart-éllu*); *fic-elle* (*flic-élla*), *nac-elle* (*navic-élla*), *puc-elle* (*pulic-ella*); of French origin :—*cav-eau, dindonn-eau, pomm-eau, pourc-eau, tomb-eau; dent-elle, ombr-elle, tourter-elle*; and the derivatives *-er-eau, -er-elle, -ot-eau*, as in :—*poèt-er-eau, tomb-er-eau, pass-er-elle, saut-er-elle, diabl-ot-eau*, &c.
- xxiii. *-eîl, -eille* (*-îculu, -îcula*) :—*ort-eîl* (*art-îculu*), *par-eîl* (*par-îculu*), *sol-eîl* (*sol-îculu*), *somm-eîl* (*somn-îculu*), *verm-eîl* (*verm-îculu*); *corn-eille* (*corn-îcula*), *or-eille* (*aur-îcula*), &c.
- xxiv. *-ement, -ment* (*-a-méntu, -méntu*) :—*arme-ment* (*arma-méntu*), *orne-ment* (*orna-méntu*), *fro-ment* (*fru-méntu*),

vête-ment (*vesti-méntu*), &c.; in French the suffix *-ement* (*-a-méntu*) was taken as the type, and a large number of new derivatives were formed by means of it, e. g. *abaiss-ement*, *accabl-ement*, *adouciiss-ement*, *appart-ement*, *chang-ement*, *déraill-ement*, *ménag-ement*, &c.

xxv. *-erie*, formed from *-ie* (*-íia*) (see below, xxxiv.):

xxvi. *-esque* (*-íscu*, through Italian *-esco*):—*arab-esque*, *barbar-esque*, *dant-esque*, *grot-esque*, *pittor-esque*; hence in such words as *Aristophan-esque*, *Moliér-esque*, &c., sometimes with a certain depreciative sense, as in *soldat-esque*, *tud-esque*.

xxvii. *-esse*, *-ise* (*-ítia*):—*just-esse* (*just-ítia*), *li-esse* (*laet-ítia*), *moll-esse* (*moll-ítia*), *par-esse* (*pigr-ítia*), *trist-esse* (*trist-ítia*), &c.; of French origin:—*faibl-esse*, *rich-esse*, *sag-esse*, *vieill-esse*; and also in *-ise*:—*bêt-ise*, *fainéant-ise*, *franch-ise*, *sott-ise*, &c.

xxviii. *-esse* (*-íssa*):—*abb-esse* (*abbat-íssa*), *prophét-esse* (*prophet-íssa*), &c.; of French origin:—*duch-esse*, *hôt-esse*, *maîtr-esse*, *mulâtr-esse*, *princ-esse*, *ân-esse*, *tigr-esse*, &c.

xxix. *-et*, *-ette*, *-ot*, *-otte* (*-ittu*), in words of French origin, mostly with a diminutive sense:—*cors-et*, *douc-et*, *livr-et*, *moll-et*, *pauvr-et*, *tabour-et*; *alou-ette*, *casqu-ette*, *côtel-ette*, *fill-ette*, *maisonn-ette*, *tabl-ette*; *bibel-ot*, *fag-ot*, *gig-ot*, *goul-ot*, *pâl-ot*, *vieill-ot*; *bouill-otte*, *boul-otte*, *fiévr-otte*, &c.

xxx. *-eul*, *-eule*, *-euil*, *-ol*, *-ole*, *-olle* (*-eólu*, *-eóla*, *-iólu*, *-ióla*):—*fill-eul* (*fil-íólu*), *linc-eul* (*lint-eólu*), *till-eul* (*til-íólu*), *añ-eule* (*av-íóla*), *fill-eule* (*fil-íóla*), *chevr-euil* (*capr-eólu*), *écur-euil* (*scur-íólu*), *rossign-ol* (*luscín-íóla*); and of French origin, with the intercalation of *-er*:—*band-er-ole*, *cass-er-ole*, *lis-er-olle*, *mouch-er-olle*, &c.

xxxi. *-eur* (*-óre*):—*past-eur* (*past-óre*), *su-eur* (*sud-óre*); employed largely in French in the formation of abstract substantives from adjectives (on the analogy of

albore from *albus*):—*grand-eur*, *laid-eur*, *larg-eur*, *froid-eur*, *noirc-eur*, *blanch-eur*, *douc-eur*, &c.

xxxii. *-eur*, O. F. *-eür* (*-atóre*), *-euse*, *-eresse*:—*emper-eur* (*imper-atóre*), *chant-eur* (*cant-atóre*), *péch-eur* (*pecc-atóre*), *sauv-eur* (*salv-atóre*), &c.; of French origin:—*jou-eur*, *ment-eur*, *recev-eur*, *veng-eur*, &c.; in consequence of the similarity of the popular pronunciation of *-eux* and *-eur* (pron. *-eu*)¹, the two suffixes were confounded, and the feminine *-euse* was applied to both, whence *chant-euse*, *dans-euse*, *ment-euse*, *recev-euse*, &c., from *chant-eur*, *dans-eur*, *ment-eur*, *recev-eur*, &c.; the earlier form of the feminine was in *-eresse*, from *-er* and *-esse* (*-íssa*) (see above, xxviii.), e.g. *dans-eresse*, *ment-eresse*, *veng-eresse*, which survives in a few instances, e.g. *baill-eresse*, *chass-eresse*, *demand-eresse*, *enchant-eresse*, *péch-eresse*, *veng-eresse*, &c.; learned words:—*am-ateur*, *conspir-ateur*, *dict-ateur*, *interrog-ateur*, &c.

xxxiii. *-eux*, *-euse* (*-ósu*, *-ósa*):—*amour-eux* (*amor-ósu*), *ois-eux* (*oti-ósu*), *pi-eux* (*pi-ósu*), *envi-eux* (*invidi-ósu*), &c.; of French origin:—*heur-eux*, *hont-eux*, *nerv-eux*, *vertu-eux*; *épin-eux*, *neig-eux*, *pierr-eux*, *poussiér-eux*, &c.; learned words:—*névr-ose*, *pluvi-óse*, *niv-óse*, *vent-óse*, &c.

xxxiv. *-ie* (*-íá* for *-íá*), in words of French origin:—*courtois-ie*, *fol-ie*, *garant-ie*, *jalous-ie*, *librair-ie*, *mair-ie*, *malad-ie*, &c.; and, with the additional suffix *-er*, words in *-erie* (on the false analogy of *argenter-ie*, *boucher-ie*, *boulang-er-ie*, *cheval-er-ie*, &c.):—*diabl-erie*, *dról-erie*, *fourb-erie*, *sing-erie*, &c.

[*Note*.—i. The Latin *-íá* became *-íá* under the influence of the

¹ A trace of this pronunciation survives in La Fontaine:—

‘Mon bon monsieur
Apprenez que tout flatteur
Vit aux dépens de celui qui l’écoute.’

Greek *ia* about the seventh century. Words derived from *-ia* before that period retain the atonic *i* of the Latin, e.g. *force* (*fórtia*), *Bretagne* (*Británnia*), *Bourgogne* (*Burgúndia*), *France* (*Fráncia*); with these compare the later forms *Bulgarie*, *Normandie*, *Picardie*, &c.—ii. In the popular speech there is a tendency to substitute *-erie* for *-ie*, as in *mair-erie*, *jalous-erie*, for *mair-ie*, *jalous-ie*.]

xxxv. *-ien*, *-ienne* (*-ánu*, in combination with *yod*; see § 32, *n.*):—*anc-ien* (*ant-iánu*), *chrét-ien* (*christ-iánu*), *pa-ien* (*pa-gánu*); hence the suffix *-ien* in words of French origin:—*Alsac-ien*, *Capét-ien*, *luthér-ien*, *presbytér-ien*, &c. (see above, ix.).

xxxvi. *-ier*, *-ière* (*-áriu*, *-ária*, *-áre*) (see § 31, *n. iv.*; § 34, *i. n.*):—*cheval-ier* (*caball-áriu*), *gren-ier* (*gran-áriu*), *prem-ier* (*prim-áriu*), *chaud-ière* (*cald-ária*), *riv-ière* (*rip-ária*), *boucl-ier* (*buccul-áre*), *écol-ier* (*schol-áre*), *sangl-ier* (*singul-áre*), &c.; of French origin:—*barb-ier*, *géol-ier*, *gross-ier*, *plén-ier*, *princ-ier*, *printan-ier*, *prisonn-ier*; *ceris-ier*, *peupl-ier*, *pomm-ier*; *encr-ier*, *moultard-ier*, *pan-ier*; *bonbonn-ière*, *crin-ière*, *glac-ière*, *tabat-ière*; learned words:—*advers-aire*, *contr-aire*, *prim-aire*, *scol-aire*, *sécul-aire*, &c.

xxxvii. *-if* (*-ívu*):—*chét-if* (*capt-ívu*), *na-íif* (*nat-ívu*); of French origin:—*craint-if*, *hât-if*, *pens-if*, *ois-if*, &c.

xxxviii. *-il*, *-ille* (*-ículu*, *-ícula*, *-íle*):—*pér-il* (*per-ículu*), *chen-ille* (*can-ícula*), *gr-ille* (*crat-ícula*); *gent-il* (*gent-íle*), *chen-il* (*can-íle*), &c.

[*Note*.—On *-ou*, O. F. *-ouil*, *-ouille* (*-úculu*, *-úcula*), see § 63, ii. *n.*]

xxxix. *-ille* (*-ília*), in words of French origin only:—*brout-ille*, *charm-ille*, *orm-ille*, *point-ille*, *ram-ille*, *vét-ille*, &c.

[*Note*.—Of Lat. *-ília*: *-eille* there is but one instance, viz. *mirabília*: *merv-eille*.]

xl. *-in*, *-ine* (*-ínu*, *-ína*):—*dev-in* (*div-ínu*), *mar-in* (*mar-ínu*),

pèler-in (*peregr-inu*), *vois-in* (*vic-inu*); *far-ine* (*far-ina*), *mar-ine* (*mar-ina*), *rav-ine* (*rap-ina*); of French origin:—*bad-in*, *enfant-in*, *grat-in*, *nut-in*; *Angev-in*, *Mess-in*, *Poitev-in*; *brillant-ine*, *morph-ine*, *fam-ine*, *rout-ine*, *terr-ine*, &c.

xli. *-oir, -oire* (*-óriu, -ória*):—*dort-oir* (*dormit-óriu*), *hist-oire*, (*hist-ória*), *vict-oire* (*vict-ória*); in French the suffix *-a-tóriu*: O. F. *-ëoir, -oir*, was taken as the type, and a large number of new derivatives was formed by its means, e. g. *abatt-oir*, *arros-oir*, *boud-oir*, *chauff-oir*, *encens-oir*, *poliss-oir*; *baign-oire*, *balanç-oire*, *bouill-oire*, *écum-oire*, *lard-oire*, *mâch-oire*, *mange-oire*, *ratiss-oire*, &c.; learned words:—*accus-atoire*, *blasphém-atoire*.

xlii. *-on* (*-óne*):—*charb-on* (*carb-óne*), *larr-on* (*latr-óne*), *li-on* (*le-óne*), *poum-on* (*pulm-óne*), &c.; *arc-on* (*arci-óne*), *compagn-on* (*cumpani-óne*), *champi-on* (*campi-óne*), *faç-on* (*facti-óne*), *fois-on* (*fusi-óne*), &c. (see also above, xi.); of French origin:—*caiss-on*, *chiff-on*, *coup-on*, *jet-on*, *jup-on*, *jamb-on*; *chat-on*, *ours-on*, *vest-on*, &c.; and with the intercalation of *-er-*, *-ich-*, *-ill-*, diminutives, such as:—*aïl-er-on*, *mouch-er-on*, *puc-er-on*; *bér-ich-on*, *corn-ich-on*, *fol-ich-on*; *cendr-ill-on*, *cot-ill-on*, *post-ill-on*, *carp-ill-on*, &c.

xliii. *-té, -eté* (*-táte*):—*beau-té* (*belli-táte*), *bon-té* (*boni-táte*), *clar-té* (*clari-táte*), *cher-té* (*cari-táte*), *san-té* (*sani-táte*), *fauss-eté* (*falsi-táte*), *pauv-eté* (*pauper-táte*), &c.; the *e* before *té* in derivatives such as *pauv-eté*, *fauss-eté*, where it occurs as 'supporting vowel' (see § 23, iii.), gave rise to the supposition that these and like words were formed from a feminine adjective and the suffix *-té*, hence derivatives of French origin are formed by that process, e. g. *ancienne-té*, *chaste-té*, *dure-té*, *légère-té*, *naïve-té*, *oisive-té*, *pure-té* (in O. F. *pur-té*), *sûre-té*, &c.; if *beau-té*, *bon-té*, *cher-té*, and the like, had been of French origin, instead of coming direct from the Latin,

they would have been *belle-té, bonne-té, chère-té*, &c.; learned words, mostly in *-ité* (*-itété*):—*char-ité, divers-ité, nativ-ité, vér-ité*, &c.

xliv. *-u, -ue* (*-útu, -úta*):—*chen-u* (*can-útu*), *corn-u* (*corn-útu*); of French origin:—*barb-u, boss-u, chevel-u, charn-u, jouffl-u, membr-u, moustach-u, poil-u, têt-u, ventr-u*, &c.

xlv. *-ure* (*-úra*):—*arm-ure*, O. F. *armē-ure* (*armat-úra*), *mes-ure* (*mens-úra*), *joint-ure* (*junct-úra*), *écrit-ure* (*script-úra*), &c.; in French the suffix *-at-úra*, O. F. *-eüre, -ure*, was taken as the type, and a number of new derivatives was formed with it, e. g. *bless-ure, grav-ure, clôt-ure, coiff-ure, chevel-ure, dent-ure, froid-ure, ord-ure, teint-ure, verd-ure*, &c.; learned words:—*arm-ature, courb-ature, fil-ature, lig-ature, mini-ature, tabl-ature*, &c.

Verbal Suffixes.

§ 693. Verbal suffixes are either simple, as *-er, -ir, -oir*; or complex, as *-aill-er, -et-er, -onn-er*, &c.

i. The simple verbal suffixes come direct from the Latin, e. g. *-er* (*-áre*):—*chant-er* (*cant-áre*), *pens-er* (*pens-áre*); *-ir* (*-íre*):—*fin-ir* (*fin-íre*), *ven-ir* (*ven-íre*); *-oir* (*-éire*):—*av-oir* (*hab-éire*), *dev-oir* (*deb-éire*). We have already seen (§ 577, ii.) that the only two living conjugations are those in *-er* and *-ir* (inchoative), the former comprising, as a rule, verbs derived from substantives (e. g. *mur, mur-er; plume, plum-er; sauvegarde, sauvegard-er; lunch, lunch-er*; &c.), the latter, verbs derived from adjectives (e. g. *blanc, blanch-ir; grand, grand-ir; noir, noirc-ir; sale, sal-ir; vert, verd-ir*; &c.).

ii. The complex verbal suffixes are formed by the intercalation of certain special suffixes between the root of the verb and the terminal suffix *-er*, with which alone

they are employed. The most important of these complex verbal suffixes are as follows:—

-aill-er, as in *ferr-aill-er*, *philosoph-aill-er*, *rim-aill-er*,
louss-aill-er.

-ass-er, as in *avoc-ass-er*, *écriv-ass-er*, *rêv-ass-er*.

-el-er, as in *boss-el-er*, *dent-el-er*, *saut-el-er*.

-et-er, as in *épouss-et-er*, *claqu-et-er*, *craqu-et-er*, *marqu-et-er*.

-ill-er, as in *brand-ill-er*, *mord-ill-er*, *point-ill-er*, *saut-ill-er*.

-is-er, as in *général-is-er*, *macadam-is-er*, *poët-is-er*, *rival-is-er*.

-och-er, as in *bav-och-er*, *flân-och-er*.

-onn-er, as in *chant-onn-er*, *griff-onn-er*, *mâch-onn-er*.

-ot-er, as in *libel-ot-er*, *chuch-ot-er*, *crach-ot-er*, *pens-ot-er*,
suç-ot-er, *tap-ot-er*.

-oy-er, -ey-er, -ay-er, -i-er, as in *charr-oy-er*, *charr-i-er*,
verd-oy-er, *larm-oy-er*, *ond-oy-er*, *nett-oy-er*, *grass-ey-er*,
planch-éi-er, *bég-ay-er*.

[*Note*.—Many of these intercalatory suffixes are also employed in the formation of nominal derivatives (see e. g. § 692, viii, xviii, xxix, xxxii, xxxiv, xlii.).]

Adverbial Suffixes.

§ 694. The adverbial suffixes in French are two in number, viz. *-ment* and *-s*, the origin of which has already been discussed (see § 642, i. n., §§ 643, 644).

INDEX.

For greater convenience of reference the Index is divided into two parts—i. *Subject Index* (in which are included proper names); ii. *Word Index*. The latter contains a list of all the most important French words mentioned in the book. In the case of verbs, references are, as a rule, given to the infinitive only; such verbal forms, however, as occur in the phonetic portion of the work (Book I) are registered separately.

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‘Suole a riguardar giovare altrui.’

DANTE, *Purg.* iv. 54.

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